

# **DISCIPLINING LEISURE:**

**A Foucauldian analysis of outdoor adventure for  
young people at risk and young offenders**

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*This thesis has been the result of my own work, and has not been the result of any research collaborations,*

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## ABSTRACT

The rehabilitation of young offenders has been a persistent social dilemma to which many solutions have been proposed. One such approach has been to rehabilitate young offenders through the medium of outdoor activities, the utility of which as a means of personal development has long been recognised. In the early 1990's, however, some newspapers and politicians associated specialist criminal rehabilitative programmes with the generalised use of outdoor adventure as leisure, labelling such programmes as holidays, treats for young offenders and rewards for misbehaviour. This construction has undermined outdoor adventure programmes designed for rehabilitative purposes by generating public hostility and by shaking the confidence of their advocates.

In addition to the practical effect of limiting its application, the construction of outdoor activity programmes as leisure has theoretical consequences. Leisure theorists have begun to challenge traditional concepts of leisure as a residual category which have situated this field as subsidiary to work and outside of those aspects of life which have been constructed as serious and important (work, education, politics, law etc.). This marginalisation of leisure has been challenged by work that examines its role as a site of meaning in life and as a field of social governance. Media and political representations which dismiss the utility of programmes because they are 'leisure' therefore ignore this theoretical move, contributing to and reifying the traditional perspective by portraying leisure as frivolous and incapable of addressing important social issues.

In the light of these problems this thesis proposes an alternative way of theorising outdoor activities, not as a form of leisure, but in a Foucauldian interpretation, as a form of discipline. This is important because as yet leisure and outdoor adventure theorists have made only limited use of Foucault's ideas. The portrayal of outdoor adventure as leisure is critiqued through a discourse analysis of brochure and newspaper representations. This reveals the ways in which leisure has been constructed as a frivolous response to a serious problem because it is perceived to embody fun, free-time and freedom. Data obtained

from semi-structured interviews with directors and workers of outdoor activity programmes for young offenders and social workers are analysed to show how this construction is not consonant with the reasons for its recommendation or the actual practice of outdoor adventure.

Following this, Foucault's philosophy is used to investigate the disciplinary nature of these outdoor programmes. *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault's thesis on the operation and effects of institutionalised discipline, provides the theoretical framework for the analysis of the interview data to investigate the overtly disciplinary nature of outdoor adventure programmes. Foucault's work on individual ethics, which examined how individuals are actively involved in their self-subjectification, is used to conceptualise how individuals are also encouraged to internalise discipline through these rehabilitative programmes, so that they become self-governing individuals who are able to discipline themselves outside of institutions. This thesis therefore argues that outdoor activity programmes for young offenders do have extensive disciplinary effects.

In doing so this thesis addresses three important issues. By showing outdoor adventure programmes to be disciplinary, their residual label is refuted. This undermines critiques based on this construction and reaffirms outdoor activity programmes' value as a tool to rehabilitate young offenders. Secondly, it contributes to the theoretical critique of leisure's construction as residual through illustrating that leisure activities can be a valuable tool of social governance. Thirdly, it extends the use of Foucault into new territory, and in doing so provides an empirical application of Foucault's philosophy.

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## CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

Within the UK, outdoor adventure programmes in their modern form can be traced to Kahn's Outward Bound School in 1941 (Hunt 1989, Marsh et al 1986), while the underlying ideas are argued by some to have much more ancient origins (Hattie et al 1997). Outdoor adventure's value as a tool for the rehabilitation of young offenders has been evident since the late 1960s: Barrett (1996), for example, argues that it came to prominence as a form of intermediate treatment after the 1969 Children's and Young Persons Act, enjoying its hay day in the 1970s and there is much research to support this rehabilitative function. Henley (1992: 1) claims that outdoor adventure experience 'unquestionably' produces reduced rates of recidivism, and Hattie et al's (1997: 59) meta-analysis found 'long term positive effects on criminal recidivism following special outward bound courses' (see also Gillis and Simpson 1991, Utting 1996, Nichols 1998). Other research, though not using the actual measure of recidivism, cite developmental outcomes, achieved through adventure participation, as preconditions and precursors of behavioural change (Skogen & Wichstrøm 1996, Sakofs 1993, Hunt 1989, Day 1975, Moote and Wardaski 1997). The value of outdoor adventure programmes as a preventative measure has also been recognised - voluntary participation in outdoor adventure has been argued to divert 'at risk' populations from potential involvement in criminal activities (Barrett 1996, Utting 1996, Golins 1979), and outdoor adventure programmes have the further advantage of avoiding custodial sentences which are recognised as detrimental because they encourage progress into criminal careers (Action on Youth Crime 1988, Garrido & Redondo 1993, Howard League for Penal Reform 1994, NACRO 1990, Prison Reform Trust 1998).

Despite the existence of such extensive academic research supporting its utility, since about 1980 the use of outdoor adventure as a rehabilitative tool has decreased. Barrett (1996) suggests two reasons for this. First, a lack of methodological rigour in research has undermined its status as an effective

rehabilitation tool (see for example, Barrett 1996, Utting 1996, Ringer and Gillis 1997, Kimball 1983, Hattie et al 1997 and Gillis and Simpson 1991). Secondly, the perceived morality or appropriateness of outdoor adventure's use as a criminal sentence has become a major issue. The former problem has been, and is being addressed, by means of new studies of effectiveness (see for example Sakoff 1993, Hattie et al 1997). However, the latter, though having a serious impact on the use of outdoor adventure, has received much less attention.

Criticisms of custodial sentences notwithstanding, throughout the last two decades public opinion and political rhetoric has consistently promoted harsh punishments epitomised by custody. The corollary is that, in comparison to sentences which appeal to public demands for punishment, 'soft' community sentences lack support. Thus, Garrido and Redondo (1993: 337) claim of the 1991 Criminal Justice Act, which extended custodial intervention:

"the change in policies concerning young offenders had far more to do with political ideology than with juvenile crime".

They also argue that this ideology supported punitive interventions:

"it is difficult to support community sanctions in periods of socio-economic crisis. Public opinion and policy makers seem to move on harder approaches"

(Garrido and Redondo 1993: 341, see also Hagell and Newburn 1994, Hengeller and Pickrel 1996, and the Prison Reform Trust 1998).

Debates around penal sentences clearly have powerful political and moral elements. In a strongly punitive atmosphere outdoor adventure is particularly susceptible to criticism because of its associations with recreation, pleasure and enjoyment (Royce 1986). In this way outdoor adventure programmes have been mistaken for holidays and for leisure; they are seen as treats rather than sentences. Barrett (1996: 1) therefore explains the decline in the use of outdoor adventure in criminal contexts

"in part because adventure based interventions are frequently associated with holidays and rewards, challenging widespread belief in the traditional functions of punishment."

The problematic effects of this mis-perception upon outdoor adventure programmes is clearly illustrated by the media furore surrounding the use of

outdoor adventure based programmes for young offenders in the early 1990s, in which such programmes were disparaged for 'rewarding' criminal behaviour (see *The Times* 14.8.93: 4, *The Daily Telegraph* 30.12.94, *The Daily Mail* 25.9.93: 1, *The Daily Mirror* 29.12.93: 3 and *The Sun* 27.9.93: 12).

Outdoor adventure programmes were positioned as leisure activities, and as such, an inappropriate way to address criminal behaviour. This media outrage reduced the use of outdoor adventure for rehabilitative purposes, and undermined the confidence of its advocates.

Despite the impact of perceptions upon practice, moral and political perspectives of outdoor adventure remain a relatively neglected area of research. This is clearly a problematic gap in outdoor adventure research, and is an absence which this study addresses. This thesis investigates the perspectives and perceptions which inform the moral debate around outdoor adventure, and analyses the impact of the political and media rhetoric on outdoor adventure's providers.

This is achieved in part by looking at how outdoor adventure's construction as leisure has hindered its rehabilitative use. In other words what connotations does 'leisure' have that act against outdoor adventure's rehabilitative efficacy and that limit its uptake in the criminal justice system? Because outdoor adventure is criticised on the basis of its constructed leisure identity, this analysis yields insights into the social role of leisure, as well as the role of outdoor adventure. This study goes beyond investigating the form and effects of political rhetoric, to propose an alternative way of perceiving outdoor adventure which may undermine criticisms of the alleged immorality of its rehabilitative uses. In contrast to the belief that these programmes reward people and provide enjoyment, this thesis suggests that outdoor adventure, and leisure, may be forms of social control.

This thesis then has five specific aims. First, it aims to problematise the naturalised perceptions that outdoor adventure provides enjoyment and 'rewards' by showing how this image is actively constructed and maintained. Second, it aims to advance a Foucauldian interpretation of outdoor adventure



programmes as a means of social control, which will be done by investigating if, and how, these programmes use the disciplinary tactics and instruments identified in *Discipline and Punish* (1991b), and the self-regulatory forms of governance identified in *Care of the Self* (1990) and *Governmentality* (1991a). In doing so it provides a basis on which dominant moral claims about the rehabilitative uses of outdoor adventure may be contested. Third, this study aims to investigate the perceptions of leisure that have informed media criticisms of outdoor adventure. It identifies how leisure has been constructed, investigates the implications of this, and suggests an alternative view, namely that leisure itself can function as a site of Foucauldian social control. The relevance of social control is in itself, nothing new; many writers have associated leisure with regulatory functions (see Clarke and Critcher 1985, Coalter 1989, Heely 1986, Henry and Braham 1986, Deem 1982, Green, Hebron and Woodward 1996, Corrigan and Sayer 1995, Rojek 1989, 1993). As yet, however, within leisure studies, theorisations of control have made limited use of Foucault's ideas. So by providing an empirical application of Foucault's ideas this thesis contributes to the theoretical development of the broader field.

These aims are addressed in the following way. Chapters 2 and 3 provide the theoretical basis of this study. As discussed above, within the media, outdoor adventure has been associated with leisure, and it is largely because of this that the validity of rehabilitative programmes is disputed. To investigate perceptions of outdoor adventure, it is therefore necessary to investigate understandings of leisure more generally. Interpretations of leisure are therefore examined in chapter 2, which argues that leisure has been theorised in four ways, in the light of which a fifth is advanced which points towards the importance of Foucault's work. This Foucauldian perspective is analysed in depth in chapter 3. Foucault suggests that social control can proceed in two ways. Initially he argued that control proceeds through the disciplines; that is through the operation of institutionalised tactics which encourage individuals to become docile and productive as theorised in *Discipline and Punish* (1991b). His later work - *Care of Self* (1990) and *Governmentality* (1991a) - suggest that individuals regulate themselves. These works, and work by others who have utilised, expanded, or criticised Foucault's ideas, are critically examined and

developed to produce a theoretical argument suggesting that outdoor adventure can be investigated for both its disciplinary and its regulatory influences.

Chapter 4 explains the methodology used in this study. It discusses the influence of a Foucauldian approach upon data sources and methods of analysis, and goes on to explain the way in which the research was conducted. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present and discuss the study's empirical findings. Since this thesis aims to challenge the dominant construction of leisure, it is necessary to identify what is being challenged, and why. Chapter 5 does this, investigating the ways in which outdoor adventure has been represented within the media as leisure, and the philosophy of leisure upon which these representations draw. It also investigates outdoor adventure providers' representations which can be viewed as counter-discourses. By pointing out the repercussions of the dominant and counter-discourses of outdoor adventure upon the use of rehabilitative programmes and the perceived social role of leisure, this chapter illustrates the importance of this thesis' alternative suggestion that outdoor adventure can be perceived as a site of social control. Chapters 6 and 7 investigate whether outdoor adventure can be conceptualised in Foucauldian terms. Chapter 6 assesses its 'disciplinary' operation. This is addressed by investigating whether outdoor adventure uses the tactics and instruments of control that Foucault identified as characteristic of disciplinary institutions. As well as addressing whether or not outdoor adventure conforms with Foucauldian definitions of discipline, chapter 6 evaluates the significance of a disciplinary approach for understanding outdoor adventure programmes. Chapter 7 examines the relevance of Foucault's ideas about self-regulation for understanding outdoor adventure, investigating whether, and if so how, participants in outdoor adventure are encouraged to regulate their own behaviour. The relationship between discipline and regulation is also examined. Chapter 8 concludes this thesis, drawing together the analysis examines the value and the limitations of this study, and suggests future directions of research.

## **CHAPTER TWO: Leisure Theory**

### **2.1. THE IDEOLOGY OF LEISURE**

Leisure is an ambiguous term which has, as yet, defied any totalising definition. It is, as Harré (1990) argues, 'polysemous', possessing multiple meanings and understandings. Crude divisions, however, can be recognised within the leisure studies literature. Early leisure studies defined leisure as freedom, fun and an absence of work (Parker 1971, Glassner 1970, Kaplan 1960, De Grazia 1964, Dumazadier 1974). More recently these have been critiqued and there has been a consequent shift towards perspectives which view leisure spaces, activities and times as productive rather than residual. This critique has three main theoretical strands: humanistic, structuralist, and structuration based theories. Humanistic theories analyse leisure through its role in individual's lives, and has two major themes. One, looks towards the experiential effects of leisure, and argues that leisure has become an important source of meaning in life - this can be termed the existential perspective (Csikszentmihalyi 1991, Ragheb 1996, Stormann 1989, Wallé 1997). The second claims that leisure has an impact on identity politics, and can be used to create and contest individual subjectivities (Mansvelt 1997; Wynne 1998). Structuralist theories argue that leisure can be used as an instrument of social control (Clarke and Critcher 1985, Coalter 1989, Heely 1986, Henry and Braham 1986, Deem 1982, Green, Hebron and Woodward 1996). Structuration theories agree that control proceeds through leisure, but argue that individuals, though structurally influenced, are not structurally determined, and claim that control proceeds through self-regulating individuals, who can modify the structures to which they respond (Corrigan and Sayer 1995, Rojek 1989,1993). Each of these perspectives and the debates around the three associated philosophies will be examined in turn to illustrate the role(s) leisure is perceived to fulfil, and to assess the different philosophies' utility for understanding, and their aptitude for encompassing leisure's many faces. Because of limitations with all of these approaches an alternative approach is then suggested: a Foucauldian interpretation of leisure.

## 2.2 CRITIQUE OF THE EARLY VIEW OF LEISURE AS FUN, FREE-TIME AND FREEDOM

The dominant concept of leisure utilised by early leisure theorists - and which still extensively informs non-academic perceptions of leisure (Moorehouse 1989), as well as some academics (see Roberts 1999 and Parker 1998) - has been a residual approach that defines leisure temporally, as time and activities outside of work and physiological demands, and experientially, as activities which produce feelings of perceived freedom and enjoyment<sup>1</sup>. This residual approach will be briefly described by sketching the work of four theorists who represent this conception of leisure: Parker (1971, 1998), Kaplan (1960), Dumazedier (1974), and Roberts (1999), before being more critically investigated.

In *The Future of Leisure* (1971) Parker, argues that leisure time occurs after work, work obligations, physiological needs and non-work obligations (e.g. playing with your family, going to church) have been fulfilled. He also argues it is characterised by feelings of 'freedom' in opposition to the experiences of 'constraint' which accompany work, physiological needs and work or non-work, obligations (Parker 1971: 26-27):

*"leisure time, free time, spare time, uncommitted time, discretionary time, choosing time. All the words after 'leisure' describe some aspect of what is meant by leisure...discretionary or choosing time is perhaps the essence of leisure, because it means time that we can use at our discretion and according to our own choice"*  
(original emphasis).

Free choice, then, which can only happen after work and other obligations have been fulfilled, is claimed to be the defining characteristic of leisure. This same idea is articulated by Kaplan (1960: 22), who argues that leisure is 'an antithesis to work as an economic function' and who claims that for an activity

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<sup>1</sup> In leisure studies, this perspective of leisure is not referred to by any single name. In this thesis three words will be used to identify this perspective: it will generally be termed 'traditional' because it tended to dominate early theorisation of leisure, but in other instances it will be termed residual - when reference is being made to this perspective's effect on the status of leisure in society and academia, or functionalist, when reference is being made to its role in propping up the status quo.

to be experienced as leisure it must provide individuals with 'a psychological perception of freedom'. Neither of these theorists explicitly refer to enjoyment, but this is implicit in the emphasis given to people freely deciding how they would like to spend their free-time.

Dumazadier (1974: 75-76), posits a definition of leisure that has four specific criteria, three of which further emphasise freedom and 'non-work', and one which explicitly emphasises the importance of enjoyment to residual interpretations of leisure. On the issues of non-work and freedom he argues that leisure:

- 1) has a liberating character - that is free from work and institutional obligations,
- 2) is disinterested - it has no lucrative, utilitarian, ideological or other social or material ends, and
- 3) has a personal character - it enables individuals to free themselves from boredom, stress, and tension, and to escape the routines of life and the stereotypes into which individuals might be placed - and it does all this in ways of peoples' own choosing.

These three aspects relate to the idea of freedom, positing an idea of leisure which embodies freedom *from* obligations and negative perceptions and experiences of life, and a freedom *to do* whatever is wanted. Dumazadier's (1974: 75) fourth point is an explicit identification that leisure should be enjoyable, or in his terms 'hedonistic.'

"[i]n nearly all empirical surveys, leisure is characterised by a search for a state of satisfaction, taken as an end in itself. This search is intrinsically hedonistic. Clearly happiness is not limited to leisure. It may co-exist with the performance of basic social duties. Pleasure is not the automatic outcome of that social artefact which 'should serve to promote leisure'...the game. However the quest for happiness, pleasure or joy is a basic characteristic of leisure in modern society."

The residual perspective, then, claims that leisure activities are chosen, (and therefore give feelings of freedom *to do* whatever is desired); occur in non-work time (and so provide experiences of freedom *from* constraint and other work related negative experiences), and are enjoyable.



Although this approach has been increasingly criticised, it still informs some contemporary academic works. Roberts (1999, for example, still claims that leisure can be defined as chosen and enjoyed non-work activities. In *Leisure in Contemporary Society* he recognises the importance for leisure of the market system (which provides opportunities to choose between many options) and liberal democracy, which provides the philosophical foundations for choice. He also states his belief in the importance of non-work and enjoyment for leisure;

“opportunities to play, to do things purely for fun, for the intrinsic satisfaction, tend to be squeezed out of working life. They must be sought outside the workplace, in the after hours. Hence the modern division of life into work and leisure”  
(Roberts 1999: 2).

There therefore exists a residual perspective of leisure which has informed leisure studies heavily in the past, and continues to exert an influence today. Moreover, it is claimed that this is the definition of leisure dominates the public’s perception of leisure. Roberts (1999: 146-147)

described “lay people’s” conception of leisure in the following way:

“First, it is common for leisure to be distinguished from work, but second, when lay people appear to opt for a residual definition they usually state or imply that leisure is different because work is disagreeable, or has to be done. Their everyday understandings associate leisure with choice, lack of constraint, being able to express oneself and doing things voluntarily. The word freedom often crops up in these contexts. Third, people also refer to leisure as being pleasurable, or enjoyable and sometimes relaxing and for these experiences being immediate or intrinsic.”

Despite its influence, this perception of leisure has been widely criticised. There are many problems of this definition which are now so widely recognised that this idea of leisure has largely lost purchase within leisure sociology. The following critiques have been well rehearsed, but it is important to examine these here because, though (most) writers in the leisure studies field have become increasingly critical of this perspective, as the quote above indicates, in circles beyond the academy this perception of leisure remains pervasive. Criticisms raised against leisure’s residual definition include: the assumption that leisure provides experiences of freedom and enjoyment; the prioritisation

of enjoyment and freedom over other potential outcomes of leisure; the creation of a work/leisure binary which gives leisure an apparent subsidiary relation to work, and which also does not accurately reflect experiences of either work or leisure; and its underlining functional philosophy which is complicit with, rather than critical towards, dominant power relations. These are discussed below.

The perceived link between leisure and freedom is criticised in Cohen's (1992) *Escape Attempts*. He claims that people participate in leisure in an attempt to experience freedom – to experience what it is to be ourselves free from work, family and social obligations. However, the escape routes we take through leisure are rarely successful because they are intrinsically linked to the social ties and influences people are trying to escape. This can be illustrated through their example of hobbies which are characterised by social interaction (with other stamp collectors, sellers etc), competitiveness (who has grown the biggest marrow?), and also external influences (the caricatures of train spotters for example). These are all argued to delimit the feelings and experiences of freedom. Any experience of freedom in leisure is in fact necessarily constrained because, as is suggested by Cohen (1992) above, and is also recognised by other writers (e.g. Rojek 1989), people cannot escape the influence and the judgements of others. People judge their own and others' leisure practices as "good" or "bad", and this limits freedom in leisure:

"underlying nearly all leisure forms is a characteristic which most liberal and radical writers tend to pass over in silence: self consciousness. If we are aware of the significance of our leisure activity – whether it can be said to be good or bad, whether it has high or low status – can we really be said to be free?"

(Rojek 1989: 4).

Some leisure activities therefore tend to be valorised over others. For example, in contemporary society constructive leisure is viewed as active not passive, and leisure activities are seen to be most valuable when they fully involve the individual's attention and efforts and create discernible outcomes (in addition to simple entertainment) (Masevelt 1997, Stebbins 1996, 1997). Clarke and Critcher (1985: 5) have also recognised what they call a 'leisure ethic':

“Free time - to avoid the descent into the murky waters of idleness and the devil’s work has to be ‘constructive’. It has to be spent wisely”.

Through the valuation of particular kinds of leisure activities over others, leisure becomes inscribed with moral overtones. Leisure activities are therefore socially mediated and the culturally situated nature of any leisure experience needs to be recognised. This impinges on the ideal of freedom, as individuals are not free to follow their own wishes but are pressurised to conform to what is deemed proper and valued within particular societies.

The idea of freedom has also been heavily criticised from a feminist perspective. Wearing (1998) recognises that for men leisure activities can embody liminality, meaning leisure is the space where values that do not conform to dominant social interests may be expressed and where rules of dominate culture can be relaxed, reversed or resisted (see also MacKenna 1992). However, she argues that women’s freedom is much more limited because they are unable to escape gender roles. Even in leisure, women are encouraged to conform to the ideas of hegemonic masculinity. Using the example of a woman playing pool in a male dominated pool hall, she comments on the sexism that this woman faced in her leisure. Despite being talented, the female pool player was consistently referred to as an inferior player, patronised, and, when she beat a male opponent, was accused of being a lesbian. The implication of these actions is that the dominant male hegemony determines ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ leisure activities for women, and if women attempt to move beyond these imposed boundaries and become involved in an unapproved activity (i.e. playing pool), they are made as uncomfortable as possible, stigmatised, and attempts are made to drive them away from such activities. This dominant masculine perspective then mediates women’s feelings of freedom in leisure. There are also many other arbitrators of freedom. Transport, time, ability and money can mediate feelings of freedom, as some people may be unable to participate in the leisure activities of their choice. The concept of freedom therefore needs to be mediated by an awareness of external influences and of structural forces (class, gender, ethnicity, disability and so on).



The attainment of pleasure through leisure has been similarly criticised, and the association of leisure with enjoyment problematised. By simply examining the 'leisure' experience, Rojek (1989) illustrates that mountaineers can find the actual activity painful. Also, Frisby (1989), drawing on the work of Simmel, argues that because work exhausts human capabilities, in leisure we demand comfort, ease and amusement to enable physical and mental recuperation. Whilst sometimes recuperation activities may be enjoyable (for example, yoga, meditation and aromatherapy), Simmel argues that using leisure time merely as recovery periods may fail to provide any real enjoyment;

“many forms of leisure activity can be reduced to forms of empty filling in of time and consciousness”  
(Frisby 1989: 88 see also Harper 1997).

Some early writers also recognised that leisure was not necessarily enjoyable. In writing on the problem of leisure for example, Glassner (1970) states that in modern day society leisure has become characterised by boredom and ennui as people do not know how to fill in their leisure time. This was reflected in the title of his book *Leisure: Penalty or Prize?*, and underlines the concept of the 'leisure problem' he recognised, which questioned how individuals were to use increased leisure time.

Despite this problematisation of any essential link between leisure and enjoyment, within traditional definitions of leisure enjoyment *is* prioritised as a defining quality of leisure. This is problematic not only because of its inaccuracy, but because this seems to prioritise enjoyment as *the* experiential outcome of leisure. However, other theorists have argued that leisure results in much wider experiential effects. Recent leisure theorists have argued that leisure provides much more than enjoyment. Harré (1990) rejects the subsidiary definition of leisure, instead perceiving it to be a source of personal fulfilment and meaning, and a site where individual's achievements and abilities in life can be recognised. Ewart (1989) has been criticised by Wallé (1997), for mistaking outdoor adventure as a superficial search for excitement when he believes it to be the search for 'insight'. In a similar vein Ragheb has criticised the use of leisure activities to produce pleasure, which he dismisses as

a 'lower order goal'(1996:246), when it is in fact, akin to Harré (1990), a source of meaning within life. Traditional definitions therefore produce a partial and diminished representation of leisure's potential role and effects.

A further difficulty of the traditional concept of leisure is that it lacks theorisation. By being defined primarily as what it *is not* (work), what it *is* is left largely unexamined. As Wilson (1981: 284) argues;

"One of the great hazards in considering leisure is that it is often thought of as a residue, an empty category of experience that is 'left over' when other life sustaining activities have been accomplished."

Furthermore, the residual definition opposes leisure to work, an activity which is often credited with status, priority and legitimacy over other activities:

"The word 'work' carries a morally based drive which eases the acceptance of analysis via the taken for granted 'rightness' of what is said, rather than by any actual connection forged in logic or by empirical evidence"

(Moorehouse 1989:19).

Leisure, which is anyway under-theorised, often becomes conceived of as fun and frivolous. By being positioned in contrast to work, there is a risk that leisure's social status as an important activity may be minimised. This definition can therefore be argued to have marginalised the place of leisure in contemporary western culture. This perspective is problematic both in terms of its accuracy and its effects.

Constructing leisure purely as fun and frivolous is inaccurate because leisure activities can be considered serious in terms of their role in peoples lives, the attitudes with which individuals approach their leisure, and in terms of its consequences. In terms of the role of leisure activities in people's life, many leisure activities, such as voluntary work (Bishop and Hoggett 1996), or political activism, though not conventionally considered as work, are socially valued and considered meaningful by participants and others. One study, for example, examined how unemployed individuals, excluded from paid work, participated instead in meaningful, but non-paid activities.

"Freyer and Pynes study of eleven people deemed to be coping well with unemployment, showed that all the subjects made a distinction between doing employment and meaningful work. The majority indicated the importance of having values which

gave direction to ones life, including political, religious and personnel development beliefs” (Haworth 1986: 283).

Activities occurring in non-work time can therefore be as meaningful and as valued as paid employment.

Many people also approach leisure activities with a ‘work-like’ attitude further problematising the marginalisation of leisure (Stebbins 1996, 1997, Haworth 1986). Stebbins has argued that individuals participate in ‘serious’ leisure in a style akin to work: it is motivated by seriousness and commitment, developed as a career, it requires a lot of effort and the development of skills, it produces feelings of accomplishment, it provides opportunities for social interaction and the enhancement of self image, and much time is given over to perusing these leisure activities. In addition to being experienced as a form of work, its effects are also serious. Stebbins argues that in a post-industrialised society opportunities for work will fall resulting in reduced opportunities for individuals to express themselves, fulfil their potential and be ‘unique human beings’. Serious leisure, he claims provides opportunities to fill these gaps. Serious leisure then is work-like in both its structure and its effects. Other leisure activities also have consequences which may be considered as, or more serious than work: rock climbing for example, can involve risking one’s life (Walter 1984). The construction of leisure as fun and frivolous, is then, at most, a partial picture of leisure.

In terms of its effects, the marginalisation of leisure has problematically undermined of leisure’s status both as a subject of academic research and as an activity that can effectively address social problems. Mansvelt (1997: 290) for example, has indicated that this perception of leisure has restricted serious research into the role of leisure in society.

“Leisure research has an air of frivolity about it.....and "is considered to be unimportant when compared to the central concerns of economic, social and urban geography"(Perkins 1993: 116). The marginalisation of leisure and its location outside the mainstream of geography and, until recently, productionalist focused geographic enterprise may be a reflection of the *construction of leisure as a non serious, non work* and consumption activity” (emphasis added).

Mansvelt is not alone in this belief. Other leisure writers have commented on the lack of credence attributed to, and consequent lack of theorisation of, leisure (Rojek 1983, Roberts 1989, Crick 1996). The naturalised authority of work implicit within the residual perspective therefore relegates anything that is defined as leisure to a subsidiary role.

Traditional definitions of leisure clearly create a leisure/work binary in which work and leisure are seen as distinct and opposed. The consequent assumption that work and leisure are different from each other and have disparate functions (Van Moorst 1982) can be criticised, not only because it marginalises leisure, but because

“the two concepts are not mutually exclusive”  
(Mansvelt 1997: 289).

This binary has been recognised as a feature specific to ‘advanced’ western societies: in less economically developed countries and in our own history the division is argued to be non-existent (Harré 1990, Storman 1990, Wilson 1981). Work and leisure are found in the same activities, a scenario which calls for a recognition that the division is not essential, but a constructed one that has led to the marginalisation of leisure within western societies’ perceptions of important issues and activities.

The segregation of work from leisure does not fit the actual practices of contemporary leisure and work. For many people distinct divisions between work and leisure simply do not exist. Retired people, for example, lack the structured work/leisure division of time (Mansvelt 1997). Women’s work/leisure experiences are argued to be blurred within the domestic sphere (Deem 1982, Wearing 1998, Bialeschki and Henderson 1986, Green, Hebron and Woodward 1996). Parker (1971) recognised that unemployed people, having no discrete periods of paid employment, experienced leisure differently from those in paid employment (see also Parry 1983, Haworth 1986, Corrigan 1989). For individuals not in paid employment, or who do work on top of paid employment (care work, domestic work for example) the work/leisure distinction does not fit the actuality of their experiences.

Even for people in paid employment the work/leisure distinction is blurred. Instead of being understood and utilised as opposites, in practice work and leisure appear to merge, with leisure-like qualities being found in work, and visa-versa. Leisure cannot therefore be seen simply as work's opposite. Flexible working hours and home work, together with leisure activities at work, for example socialising (Herbert 1987, Parker 1983, Parry 1983, Newman 1983) or organised through work, blur the work/leisure distinction (Rojek 1989, 1995b). Work spaces are becoming landscaped and painted to look more like private spaces (Moorehouse 1989). Alongside work becoming more like leisure, leisure becomes more like work. Stebbins (1996, 1997) has recognised 'serious leisure', and Parry (1983) noted the discipline and skill, normally associated with work can be found in many leisure activities. Rojek (1989: 109) has also argued that leisure activities are becoming more and more professional and, and visa versa.

"Paid employment remains associated with the realm of necessity, yet it also, quite overtly, presents opportunities for what are traditionally seen as leisure activities, like larking around, gambling, playing cards or simply passing the time of day. Similarly leisure remains associated with the realm of freedom. However in some respects it has taken on the characteristics of paid employment. Thus society emphasises the virtues of discipline over relaxation; industry over idleness, planning over non-planning in leisure practice."

Leisure activities, leisure spaces and leisure times are therefore becoming increasingly blurred with those traditionally viewed as work producing 'fuzzy' distinctions between the two concepts. This problematises the clear work/leisure opposition within traditional perspectives of leisure.

Mansvelt's (1997) article illustrates the blurred distinctions between work and leisure by suggesting that this binary is not a useful conceptual tool to understand the experiences of individuals. She argues that leisure is not viewed as time or as activity isolated from the rest of life, but is an experience which pervades people's everyday lives. Leisure is characterised by the qualities of the experience (achievement, satisfaction and pleasure that can be found within an activity) which can be found on any occasion rather than in discreet units of disparate times or activities. In her interviews of twenty-one middle class 60 - 75 year old New Zealanders, she discovered that the participants felt that they



needed to have achieved something in an activity (be it material - making a pot - or less tangible - making friends) for leisure to be valued. It was the outcome rather than the activity that was valued. A second finding was the extensive use of a metaphor termed 'leisure at work'. Mansvelt found her subjects felt that leisure should involve mental or physical application and effort. This productive form of leisure was positively contrasted against 'idle' forms and associated with the world of work, as one participant said:

"I'm pretty busy, I don't have much time for real leisure...so I like keeping busy in a profitable way, in a worthwhile way. Life's too short to waste time"  
(Mansvelt 1997: 291).

Other theorists have argued not for work in leisure, but for leisure in work, suggesting that the separation of leisure from work is false, and that leisure should be experienced within work settings and experiences (Stormann 1989, Wilson 1981, Harper 1997). The work/leisure binary intrinsic to traditional definitions of leisure therefore has been widely critiqued and cannot be sustained.

A further source of criticism of residual interpretations of leisure lies not in the inaccuracy of their representation of the leisure experience, but in their underlying philosophy. Theorists such as Parker (1971), Kaplan (1960), De Grazia (1964) and Dumazadier (1974) and more recent work in the same tradition by Veal (1996, 1998) Roberts (1999) and Parker (1997), who construct leisure as fun, free-time and the absence of work, are accused of being functionalistic (for example by Wearing 1998, Cohen 1996). Through positing a particular construction of leisure, residual theorists are criticised for contributing to the continuation of the status quo of contemporary societies' social structures and power relations. Leisure studies are therefore co-opted into maintaining the status quo. Cohen (1996: 92) argues that individuals experience tensions and dissatisfaction through conforming to contemporary society and that these are dissipated through leisure, which refreshes individuals and makes them ready to re-enter society as productive and co-operative members:

“[tension management] will include various types of leisure and recreation activity in which the individual finds release and relief. Such activities take part in segregated settings, which are not part of ‘real’ life...though consisting of activities representing a reversal of those demanded by the central value nexus (e.g. ‘play’ against ‘work’). They are functional in relieving tension built up in the individual and hence reinforce, in the long run, his[sic] allegiance to the centre”.

Wearing (1998) also argues that functional approaches attempt to maintain the social equilibrium by countering individual dissatisfaction and tensions with their non-leisure world. The construction of leisure as fun, freedom and free-time can therefore not only be seen as inaccurate, but as a means of social control, and, because of this, the functional perspective is criticised by more radical leisure theorists for its complicity in maintaining the status quo (Van Moorst 1982).

The functionalist role of early leisure studies can be attributed to the influence of three disciplines which have contributed most to early leisure studies: geography, economy and sociology. Geography’s contribution was summarised by Coppock (1982) as a focus on empirical rather than conceptual analysis, based in the analysis of tourism as a component of economic geography and of recreation as a land use model (see also Aitchison 1999). This empiricist perspective was guided by concerns that academic findings should contribute to public policy decisions, and was therefore influenced by government interests. One article in an early issue of *Leisure Studies* even gave advice to social scientists on how to write papers which would appeal to government policy makers and professional planners (Burton 1982). Cohen (1996) has recognised that most tourism research was empirically based and orientated to meet the practical needs of government and leisure professionals, and Parry (1993), analysing sociological contributions to leisure theory, claimed that that this was dominated by a concern to solve ‘leisure problems’ such as betting, drinking and gambling. Leisure studies therefore has an instrumental heritage: it aimed to provide information for government policy makers and professionals to use in leisure planning, and many leisure articles and books still embody an empiricist perspective aimed at planning and

managing leisure (for example, see Veal 1994, 1996)<sup>2</sup>. Given leisure studies' early focus upon serving governmental needs, it can be suggested that as a discipline, it was more concerned with serving government - i.e. adopting a functional perspective - than in 'rocking the boat' that was an important source of funding for, application of, and legitimisation of leisure research. At risk of gross simplification, such theoretical conceptualisations of leisure as there were may therefore have supported, not challenged the status quo.

This heritage has, of course, been challenged as leisure theorists have responded to structuralist perspectives, to approaches which prioritise the agency (existentialism and identity politics), and to the influence of structuration theory. Marxism has greatly influenced the sociology of leisure (Parry 1983), as have feminist works. These approaches have emphasised the structural constraints of leisure and explicitly challenged the control of the individual and society through leisure. Other perspectives have developed which emphasise leisure's role in creating meaning in peoples' lives (this can be termed the existential perspective), or its importance as a site for identity formation and contestation (identity politics). Coalter (1989) has therefore suggested that leisure theory has become characterised by a duality of objects of study: freedom and constraint. There is 'a third way' to approach leisure however, merging agency and structure through Giddens' structuration theory and Foucauldian analysis. Therefore, although early leisure theories have been dominated by the functionalist perspective and the residual construction of leisure, this has been challenged from three main directions; those that emphasise freedom, those that emphasise constraint, and those that attempt to unite agency and structure. Each of these will be examined in turn, to look at the value of the insights these approaches bring to leisure studies, but also to recognise their problems.

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<sup>2</sup> Because of the apparent division between the applied and the conceptual approaches to leisure studies, in this thesis I distinguish between the two by referring to conceptual studies as 'leisure sociology'. I use this term broadly to refer to any works which theorises leisure's social role - what may also be thought of as the 'philosophy of leisure'. My use of 'leisure sociology' then is an umbrella term encompassing all the different *theoretical*, as opposed to applied, approaches to leisure (e.g. functional, structural, humanist and post-structural approaches and so on).



## **2.3. HUMANISTIC APPROACHES**

“In societies dominated by instrumental rationality and secularism, where lives are suspended between deadlines and dead-ends, leisure assumes extraordinary ideological significance. Paid employment and family life may be regarded as the main part of ‘normal’ adult existence. However, leisure, it is said is the necessary counterpart to work, the ‘reward’ for effort, the prerequisite for a healthy and balance lifestyle.....In work and family life we may satisfy and surprise ourselves. However, only in leisure are we said to be ourselves. This is certainly the dominant position in academic sociology. Leisure is consistently associated with positive experience: liberty, fulfilment, choice and growth”  
(Rojek 1989:1).

It has been argued that changing work practices (for example, increased automation and the partitioning of the production process) have resulted in the increasing alienation of individuals from their workplace and work activity. Being unable to find meaning in life through work, people have turned to leisure activities to give their lives purpose (Csikszentmihalyi 1991, Harré 1990, Wilson, 1981, Ragheb 1996, Storman 1989, Wallé 1997). A second, related argument, is that traditional structures through which people have lived and ordered their lives and understood their status have broken down. Individuals have therefore become loosened from the hold of determining structures and can use leisure to create their own identities (Beck 1996, Beck- Gernshiem 1996). Thus, identity formation is argued to be derived, in part, from leisure practices (Wynne 1990, 1998, Mansvelt 1997). Each of these ideas of leisure as a source of individual meaning will be discussed individually and then brought together, to emphasise their similarities, their common underlying philosophy, and their advantages and problems for understanding the social role of leisure.

### **2.3.1. EXISTENTIAL PERSPECTIVES**

Some leisure writers appear to believe that leisure provides meaning in life. Three contributions to this perspectives will be briefly sketched to illustrate this belief: Ragheb (1996), Csikszentmihalyi (1991) and Harré (1990).

Ragheb (1996) promotes the concept of 'the search for meaning in leisure pursuits'. He argues that people do not participate in leisure for fun, pleasure or to fill in time (although these can be side benefits), but to provide meaning in their lives that contributes to their well being and life satisfaction. Leisure, he argues, is not the only site for this (meaning can also be found in families, the arts, and illness for example), but it is an important one. Drawing on three theories of 'meaning' in life - Frankl's (1962) theory of search for meaning, Maslow's (1954) theory of self actualisation, and Rotter's (1954) theory of social learning - he identifies seven concepts of meaning in a person's life which he believes leisure can provide. The seven concepts are: to be physically and mentally (psychologically and cognitively) free; to have positive social relationships (love and belongingness); to have high self esteem, and to be held in esteem by others; to be spiritually aware; to achieve self actualisation (to be the best one can be which can be achieved through painful as well as pleasurable experiences); and to possess a locus of control (to be self responsible and self-determined). He draws these together as follows:

"The search for meaning in leisure is the individual's mental, physical, social and spiritual realisation while fulfilling his/her self characterised by discovering subjective purposes for existence, position in life (esteem), and relationships with others (having love and belongingness) through the relatively freely chosen leisure and recreation endeavours of personal significance, exercising self determination and intrinsic motivation, and claiming self responsibility in those pursuits" (Ragheb 1996: 253).

Ragheb argues that his perception of leisure as a source of meaning in life is valuable but not, as yet, widely held. Despite its limited spread, the view of leisure he espouses is important because it suggests that leisure is of instrumental and intrinsic worth to individuals in their search for meaning in life, a meaning that he argues is necessary to make our existences feel worthwhile and satisfying. The concept of leisure clearly challenges the residual status accorded to leisure in traditional conceptualisations.

Other work which claims leisure can be a source of meaning in life includes Csikszentmihalyi's (1991) work on 'flow' or optimal experience. He argues

that flow is a condition experienced by individuals who are engaged in an activity which demands the application of all of their skills effort and attention to achieve a particular task; the successful accomplishment of which lend experiences which give intense meaning to, and satisfaction in, life. These are feelings which, he argues, most of us rarely achieve in modern day life which is instead characterised by alienation, anomie, anxiety, oppression, exploitation and depression (1991: 86) or, what he terms 'physic entropy' (1991: 39). He contrasts this with 'flow' which he describes in the following way:

"we have all experienced times when instead of being buffeted by anonymous forces, we do feel in control of out own actions, master of our own fate. On the rare occasion when it happens we feel a sense of exhilaration, a deeper sense of enjoyment that is long cherished and that becomes a landmark in memory of what life should be like"  
(Csikszentmihalyis 1991: 3).

And he goes on to say;

"[W]henver the goal is to improve the *quality of life* the flow theory can point the way"  
(Csikszentmihalyis 1991: 5 emphasis added).

Like 'search for meaning in leisure pursuits', flow is not only achieved through leisure pursuits, but many leisure activities do have the potential to produce flow: at various times Csikszentmihalyi cites rock climbing, gardening, solo ocean cruising, artistic endeavour, such as composing music or drawing, mental puzzles and martial arts (1991: 40, 54, 55 ,117) as conducive to flow. Leisure, then, provides opportunities to experience optimal experiences which provide satisfaction in life.

Harré (1990) similarly argues that leisure provides meaning in life. He claims that leisure can be divided into three varieties: entertainment, hobbies and supplementary lives. It is the latter variety of leisure which he feels is most important for human wellbeing and upon which he concentrates. Harré argues that supplementary lives provide the self esteem and external valuation which used to be found, but because of changing practices can no longer be found, in work. Using body building as an example, he illustrates how passing tests and receiving external recognition for one's achievements creates self and public esteem through leisure when it is no longer obtainable through work.

Furthermore, he argues that the seriousness of supplementary lives to individuals must be recognised; they do not simply provide what is 'missing' but have serious financial (monetary investment and rewards) and social (prestige, respect and admiration) implications. This clearly has strong parallels with Stebbins's (1996) idea of 'serious leisure'; the difference being that Harré attributed changes in work conditions leading to supplementary life to provide meaning, while Stebbins identified reduced opportunities to participate in work per se leading to participation in 'serious' leisure. Other similar work includes Cohen's (1996) concept of existential mode of tourism.

This work is very valuable because it illustrates that leisure should not be seen as residual, that it has great intrinsic value, and is not simply work's poorer partner. It is, however, a perspective that is fraught with difficulties. The idea that contemporary leisure experiences are able to provide meaning in life has been contested on two grounds. First, not all people look for meaning in life in their leisure pursuits (Cohen 1996); second, contemporary leisure is argued to be unable to provide such meaning even if it is being actively searched for (Rojek 1995).

Because not all people participating in leisure look for meaning in life, but instead use it for relaxation, and recuperation, this cannot be the only social role of leisure. This was well recognised by Cohen (1996), who identified five possible modes of the tourist experience, of which two were unconnected with the search for meaning in life: recreation (simple entertainment) and diversion (a break from stresses and alienation in life); two others embodied the unfulfilled search for meaning (experiential, in which people seek meaning through other people's experiences, and experimental, a personal, unfulfilled quest for meaning, and in only one mode of tourist experience (the experiential mode) did individuals discover meaning in life.

Modern day leisure is also argued to be characterised by fragmented, ephemeral, consumer based activities which can only superficially engage participants and which cannot provide fulfilment. Rojek (1995: 215), for example, argues;

“[M]odern life is made up of contrast and distraction. We do not escape the gravitational pull of modernity by launching into leisure and travel as ways of escape. On the contrary, the restless dissatisfaction and desire for contrast which often colours our leisure and travel experience reflects modern values. We are never convinced that we have experienced things in our ‘free time’ fully enough: we are always dully aware that our experiences could be better; no sooner do we enter ‘escape’ activities than we feel the nagging urges to escape from them. In these conditions it seems folly to see leisure experiences as paving the way towards self realisation or consciousness raising. For the subjects of the ‘self’ and ‘consciousness raising’ are open to contrasting and changing interpretations and debate. The ephemeral, the fugitive and the contingent describe our experience of leisure just as they are at the heart of modernity.”

He argues that people approach leisure simply seeking to be entertained through the search for the novel; an endless quest which, unavoidably, leaves individuals feeling unfulfilled, and cannot provide meaning in life. Connected to this point, MacCannell (1976) has argued that individuals search for fulfilment through the authentic experience, but that authenticity is rarely found in modern culture.

Existential theories which suggest that leisure is the site of meaning in life attempt to argue for leisure’s importance and productivity in individuals’ lives. However, as has been illustrated, they are they are very problematic. Another approach which argues that leisure is productive, if from a slightly different angle, is identity politics.

### **2.3.2 IDENTITY POLITICS**

Other leisure theorists have argued that leisure does not just make lives more worthwhile through providing ‘meaning’ but by enabling people to create their own identities through public display (Wynne 1990, 1998), or by resisting identities that are imposed (Mansvelt 1997). This work draws upon two ideas; 1) that social structures have receded enough to allow individuals the space to choose their own identities (Beck 1992, 1996 and Beck-Gernshiem 1996) and,

2) that leisure can be a site for individuals to become themselves (for example Kelly's (1983) *Leisure Identities and Interactions*).

First, Beck (1992, 1996) and Beck-Gernsheim (1996) have claimed that in today's post-industrial society, structures which previously determined individual life choices, opportunities and identities have receded, leaving individuals 'free' to make their own choices about their identities and their life direction. This creates a 'risk society', as individuals are forced to make choices and to accept the consequences of those actions now that structural determination has been removed, but it also creates opportunities for individuals to be who they want to be.

Second, Kelly (1983: 43) argues that leisure provides individuals with the opportunities to try out new roles and identities:

“Leisure, not only provides a social space for learning new roles, ‘playing’ with role identities and for developing individual identities apart from those associated with the family and/or work. There is then in leisure the possibility to be and become ourselves, to develop, multidimensional personal; identities in the ongoing process of becoming”.

Some leisure theorists therefore believe that structures no longer determine individual subjectivities, and that individuals can choose their leisure to create or to contest particular identities. Identity politics is quite widespread within social and cultural geography (see, for example, Pile and Thrift 1995). Within leisure studies in particular, this body of work includes Wynne (1998) and Mansvelt (1997).

Wynne (1990, 1998) has argued that inhabitants of a middle class housing estate use the leisure facilities there to create identities and to differentiate between two groups of people. His research showed that inhabitants from a working class background who have achieved financial and social promotion through effort in the workplace tended to monopolise the bar (displaying economic capital), whereas those from the same background who have achieved success through higher education tend to dominate sporting facilities (displaying cultural capital). Here leisure participation and choice is used as a



public affirmation of lifestyle. This interpretation of leisure recognises its important symbolic value. Mansvelt (1997) also shows how experiences of leisure can contest and create identities. Her research on the leisure habits of retired people in New Zealand illustrates how the subjects participated in active and productive leisure activities. She interpreted this as a direct contradiction of dominant discourses on ageing in New Zealand which revolve around problems of care and dependency.

### **2.3.3 POTENTIAL AND LIMITATIONS**

These two perspectives (existential experience and identity politics), while different, are underlined by two shared and important concepts of leisure which argue that leisure is very different from its residual definition, and in doing so they make great contributions to leisure studies. First, leisure is recognised as a creative part of life. Far from being residual, leisure is seen as an important arena for experiencing purpose in life, self-understanding, self-realisation and influencing social positions. By illustrating these functions leisure sociologists have signposted the fact that leisure *can* fulfil serious functions. Second, leisure spaces are indicated to be the places where individuals are perceived to exercise freedom and autonomy. People *choose* to participate in leisure activities that they find meaningful and people choose to create or resist particular identities through leisure. Thus, the leisure concept involves ideas of empowerment. These perspectives move away from external influences on the self (the achievement of satisfaction and identity from being employed, for example) to the individual taking responsibility for these concepts. Constraints of social class, occupation and other structures are perceived to recede, opening up new possibilities. These leisure theorists are therefore proclaiming a recognition of the importance of leisure as a realm in which people discover and assert their identities alongside the recognition of individual ability and individual autonomy to act upon and to change the quality and nature of their existence (bearing in mind, of course, people's different abilities to participate in different leisures because of differences in income, physical ability, awareness of and access to opportunities).



Although the humanistic perspective addresses the issue of the residual role attributed to leisure, effectively illustrating its importance in people's lives, they can be criticised because they retain many of the problems identified in functional leisure. Existential perspectives fail to move beyond the work/leisure binary, endorse an overly negative view of work and an overly positive perception of leisure, and can be interpreted as functionalist. Identity politics can be criticised for an overemphasis upon freedom and consequent denial of constraining social structures and influences. Each of these is examined.

Existential perspectives do not completely escape the work/leisure binary which so hindered functionalist approaches. Work and leisure remain opposed, with work being seen as negative, constraining and alienating, whereas leisure is perceived to embody positivity and freedom, and is the source of meaning in life. Although leisure is no longer residual to work, and appears as an equal, not a marginal partner, it is still perceived as work's opposite, maintaining a binary division which does not reflect either the actual qualities attributed to work and leisure, or the 'blurred' experiences of work/leisure recognised earlier.

The argument that leisure is the site of meaning in life posits a very negative view of the work environment (Clarke and Critcher 1985, Rojek 1995). Work is conceived as "a prison of self denial, anguish and alienation" (Rojek 1995: 207). Associated with this idea is the predicated move towards a leisure society (in which more time is spent in leisure and less in work) which has been warmly anticipated as a sign of social progress (see Harper 1997: 189). However, the actual work experience need not be drudgery and can be seen for some as a source of pleasure, pride, socialisation and economic reward. Moreover, recent changes in work patterns (flexible working hours, home work for example) have altered the work experience greatly. 'Work' within these theories is therefore simplified, homogenised and impoverished in a way that does not reflect the variety of people's experiences (Moorehouse 1989). So far the negative idea of work has been problematised, but the positive idea of

leisure too can be challenged: the 'problem of leisure' was recognised earlier in section 2.2.

Moreover, this work/leisure couplet can still be interpreted as functionalistic. Leisure's provision of meaning in life which work can no longer supply indicates that leisure maintains a supportive relationship to work. The dissatisfaction and alienation which result from work is mediated by the purpose in life experienced in leisure activities. Through leisure individuals therefore remain content, or at least are pacified enough to carry on within the status-quo, rather than being incited to revolt against it though holistic feelings of alienation in both work and in leisure.

Like existential perspectives, identity politics can be criticised because they do not adequately move beyond the problems of traditional approaches. The foundation of Wynne's (1998) and Mansvelt's (1997) work lies in the assumption that individuals are free to act in leisure in ways of their choosing, but, as has already been recognised in the discussion of ideas of freedom in functionalist approaches (section 2.2), real freedom is difficult to attain in leisure.

The humanistic perspective on leisure therefore retains many of the problems for which the residual approach has been criticised. Whilst useful in recognising the importance of leisure in individual lives, it is made problematic by: an overemphasis on freedom and consequent denial of constraining social structures and influences, the (criticised) belief in leisure's ability to find meaning in life, the maintenance of a work/leisure binary, and, in existential studies, a lack of radical conceptualisation which can investigate and challenge the social function of leisure. An alternative way of theorising leisure which can overcome these problems is therefore needed, and may be found in structuralist accounts, which emphasise constraint instead of freedom and offer radical interpretations of leisure.

## 2.4 LEISURE AS SOCIAL CONTROL: STRUCTURALIST ACCOUNTS

In stark contrast to the emancipatory vision of leisure in which individuals are freed from the constraints of old class systems and imposed identities, and through which they can escape the stultifying routine of modern work, are theories which explicitly recognise leisure's role in social control. Far from seeing leisure as liberating, these structuralist approaches explicitly argue that leisure ensures conformity within, and continuation of, the status quo, but, in contrast with the functionalist approach, aims to reveal and to challenge this role of leisure, instead of being co-opted into it. Leisure studies have drawn from two structuralist influences, Marxism and feminism, to frame interpretations of leisure as social control.

Interpretations of leisure that have drawn on Marxism are very influential in leisure studies, and, along with the traditional functional perspective, have tended to dominate leisure sociology (Parry 1983). Marxist perspectives argue that the move towards a consumer based leisure world supports capitalism by making a profit, and by disguising capitalism's inequalities and deficiencies so as to lull the populace into a false sense of contentment and so compliance with capitalism's aims and means (see, for example, Clarke and Critcher 1985, Van Moorst 1982). In addition to producing capital, leisure is theorised as a form of social control (for example, Coalter 1989, Hargreaves 1985, Henry and Bramham 1986). The bourgeois world of leisure achieves this through the creation of allegiances based on leisure rather than class interests - fragmenting working class consciousness - and by dispersing excess energies through apolitical activities, paralysing meaningful opposition.

Coalter (1989) argues that contemporary leisure practice appears to embody ideals of freedom and self determination which are valued for their intrinsic worth, but is in fact used as an instrument of control. Because of leisure's association with freedom, policies of 'recreational welfare' were developed to extend participation in leisure to the 'leisure deprived' so all could benefit. This was illustrated by the 'Sport For All' policies of the 1980s. Leisure, it was claimed, is a right of citizenship. However, Coalter argues that leisure is

a means of social control which, through the rhetoric of recreation welfare, exerts a widespread influence. He argues that leisure has been instrumentally used to ameliorate the effects of unemployment, poverty and dissatisfaction in life in three ways. Provision of leisure facilities keeps otherwise unoccupied individuals (the unemployed) 'busy', removing the threat of 'idle hands making mischief'. Leisure activities also occupy the mind diverting mental activity from the shortcomings of an inequitable social system. Thirdly, by channelling energies into productive leisure activities, disruption may be avoided. He illustrates this by citing the aims of the 1975 White Paper 'Sport and Recreation,' which:

"by reducing boredom and urban frustration in active recreation contributes to the reduction of hooliganism and delinquency among young people"  
(Coalter 1989: 119).

Coalter's perspective is shared by other Marxist writers. Henry and Bramhan (1986) claim that, as an outcome to the 1981 Scarman Report on urban rioting, state control is exercised through 'community recreation' policies; and Brohms says:

"Leisure activities in fact constitute the best way of dulling and neutralising the masses. Though they give illusions of personal freedom / self determination they actually function to make the working class a disorganised mass of docile and atomised bodies"  
(cited in Rojek 1995: 95).

Writers in the sociology of sport also concur with the idea that leisure is an instrument of social control (see Bale 1989, Jones 1987, Hargreaves, 1985, Mangan 1986, Badenhorst and Rogerson 1985, Whannal 1996). Hargreaves (1985), discussing state provision of sport, claims that this had benefited public control in three ways. First, the differential access to sport between the upper and lower segments of the working class (because of the cost, accessibility, and type of activity provided) served to disintegrate working class unity which was perceived as a potential threat to state hegemony. Second, sport was claimed to prevent social ills through relieving dissatisfaction. This posited marginalised population's *dissatisfaction* with their unequal position in society, instead of the *unequal position per se* as the cause of social problems. Social order was therefore maintained through alleviating dissatisfaction with unequal relations,

enabling the social order (these unequal relations) to remain unaltered and unchallenged, whilst blaming the marginalised for social unrest. Third, by focussing on national sporting interests dissatisfied youths were incited to 'sink their differences' with the dominant groups, and participate with them for the 'greater good of the nation' (Hargreaves 1985: 226). Through sport social order is *achieved* - because social disquiet is redressed - and social order is *maintained* - because this is achieved without altering the power structure and hegemony of the state. Sport has not only been a tool of social control in Britain. Mangan (1986) has theorised its role in converting the natives of Africa and Asia, and Badenhorst and Rogerson (1985), in an article titled 'Teach the Natives How to Play', examined how football was used to counter the discontent and social problems among black South Africans.

These works argue that control is facilitated through the provision or encouragement of leisure activities which:

- divert attention away from social problems and inequalities so that these remain unrecognised,
- create pleasurable activities which attempt to make people content with their lives,
- occupy time and energy so that, even if social, political and economic inequalities and problems are recognised, subjects are too tired or do not have the time to engage in opposition,
- inscribe leisure activities with a morality which serves the interests of the dominating class or faction, illustrating how leisure serves ideological functions, and,
- disguise the operation of control under the perceived banner of 'freedom' and autonomy within leisure.

This conceptualisation of leisure thus challenges ideas of its emancipatory potential. Whilst it may be perceived by participants to provide freedom, meaning and opportunities for personal development and identity construction, these may be little more than a 'front' to disguise, to render acceptable and efficient, the social control function of leisure activities.

Feminist studies also posit a structuralist critique of leisure. Deem (1982) states that women's experiences of leisure are part of women's oppression and subordination. Before the feminist critique, leisure studies tended to portray 'man's' experience of leisure as universal, and indeed the whole work/leisure binary can be argued to be based in a masculine vision of society in which men partake in paid employment outside of the home. Deem (1982) highlights the error of this assumption, and points to the differential experience of leisure for women which was limited in comparison with men because of unequal gender relations. Women's leisure, she argues, was circumscribed by many factors including: having less total time than men to spend in leisure activities (women often have domestic as well as paid work obligations: see also Green, Hebron and Woodward (1996), having fragmented time (leisure tends to fit around these work obligations and also around the husband's and children's needs or wishes), lacking private transport and money, being restricted by men's disapproval of certain leisure activities, and sometimes feeling un-entitled to leisure (Bialeschki and Henderson 1986). Many other studies have recognised the constraining influence of gender inequality upon women's leisure experience (see Bialeschki and Henderson 1986, Green, Hebron and Woodward 1990, 1996, Deem 1996, Hargreaves 1989).

Though structuralist theories are compelling, overcome humanistic approaches' neglect of structural constraints, and possess radical instead of functionalistic intent, these ideas are also problematic. In particular, they imply a homogeneity of experience which is difficult to support, they inculcate feeling of inevitable and inescapable victimisation, they prioritise a single outcome of control ignoring other valued outcomes of leisure, they imply a homogenous dominant group, and they ignore individuals' potential to resist. Each of these are examined in turn.

People do not passively and homogeneously respond to social structures, as some structuralist accounts suggest. Bialeschki and Henderson's article, for example, was on the 'Common World of Women' (1986: 299), but many feminists have pointed to the risk of structural determinations obscuring very



real differences in women's experiences (McDowell 1992). Moreover, the way in which people appear to respond to social structures is also challenged. In structuralist theories of social control the subject is often portrayed as gullible and passive, yet one of the main experiences of leisure is the feeling of freedom and autonomy (sections 2 and 3, and Hultsman 1995). The control theories discussed emphasise the determining effect of external influences to which subjects apparently passively submit. Yet could individuals be so completely under the control of outside influences and yet experience freedom as one of the defining aspects of leisure? Moreover, structuralist theories fail to recognise that subjects are creative actors who can contest and disrupt agencies of rule. They posit a homogeneity of responses to efforts of control, where there might be acceptance, apathy, resistance or numerous other responses on the side of those being subdued. Wearing (1998), for example, has criticised structuralist perspectives for implying that there is nothing individuals can do to alter their situation, creating a problematic victim mentality. Instead, she argues, from a feminist perspective, that women do not passively accept structural forces but use leisure to challenge and so subvert those very structures: in the example given above of the female in the male dominated pool hall, she may have encountered opposition but still challenged the structural masculine hegemony. Rojek (1995) also argues that individuals do not always passively succumb to structural determinants, but can use leisure as locus to resist social norms through involvement in deviant activities, for example, drug taking, sadism and alternative sub cultures. Other authors have also recognised individual resistance through leisure, and pursue 'deviant' activities (Walter 1984, Wallé 1997, Wearing 1998). It seems that, whereas emancipatory leisure theory overly emphasises the agent, control theories tend to stress the external structures within which individuals are passively subjected, ignoring the role of agency. There is an agency/structure dichotomy in these theories of leisure that prevents the adequate theorisation of the leisure experience.

These theories also appear to prioritise a single outcome of leisure: control. However, although control may be one outcome of leisure, there are others, for example, the pleasure, fun and autonomy with which it is experienced and



which are valued by participants. These are often explained away in terms of disguising leisure's true function. For example Critcher (1996: 47) claims:

"[I]ts is always a real difficulty in leisure analysis that controllers seek to express their objectives in developmental or moral terms. What is being advanced is not described in terms of the interests of the controllers but in the interest of the controlled. Measures are justified by a set of morally or social desired values. Part of the problem of the analysis of contemporary leisure is that control is further disguised by the appeal to consumer choice as the ultimate arbitrator."

However, as section 2.3 illustrated, leisure is not simply *described* in terms that benefit the individual, but is *experienced* as beneficial and meaningful. I argue that such experiences should not be merely simplified as a technique of diversion because this cannot fully explain how some outcomes of leisure have very real value to those who experience them, and which actually differentiate leisure experiences from other forms of experience (Esteve et al 1999).

Feminist studies too, within the context of this thesis, are hindered by a narrow focus. Whilst these studies are very useful in pointing out that women experience leisure differently to men and that this is a result of unequal power relations, this perspective is necessarily limited, focussing on women's experiences of leisure. Although this is a characteristic, rather than criticism, of feminist studies, the gendered focus necessarily limits the utility of this approach for this study which aims to understand the role of leisure throughout society, not just for women.

Lastly, an unlikely uniformity and cohesion is attributed by these theories to the dominant faction or group (Rojek 1995). This is most clearly demonstrated through Marxist theories which claim a bourgeoisie united in its own interests of economic gain via the means of the oppression and exploitation of the working class (Clarke and Critcher 1985). However, 'classes' are not composed of similar people with similar interests and similar economic and social status. Society is instead characterised by fragmentation and differentiation (along grounds of race, age, interests, religions and so on). To conceive of leisure as serving the interests of one class suggests the attribution of a homogeneity of purpose, and a shared technique among the perpetrators of

control, that is hard to envisage in 'real' life.

Structuralist approaches are useful because they show how leisure can be used to control individual behaviour, but they appear to underestimate the role of individual agents.

## **2.5. LINKING AGENCY WITH STRUCTURE: MORAL REGULATION**

A perspective on leisure is therefore needed which can integrate structure and agency, consider the role and value of all of the outcomes of leisure participation, and accommodate the variety of perceptions and uses of leisure. Giddens' structuration theory appears to provide such an approach, and it is upon this philosophical basis that the studies reviewed in this section are selected. Giddens (1979), concerned over both the functionalist tendencies of structuralist approaches and the over-emphasis on agency (and consequent lack of recognition of structural constraints) in more humanistic approaches, attempts to theorise the interconnections between structure and agency. In his structuration theory social structures are perceived to influence people's actions in time and space; however, people do not passively respond to these influences, but are able to effect and to transform those very structures which affect their lives. The following analysis looks at three works, Corrigan and Sayer (1985) and Rojek (1989 and 1993), which draw on this concept of structuration to illustrate how, in leisure studies, agency can be conceived as both determined by structures and determining structures.

Corrigan and Sayer (1985) propose an analysis of power which, although not specific to leisure, analyses how individuals become inculcated into self-governance in leisure as well as in other spheres of their life through what they term 'moral regulation'. Rojek (1989) has drawn upon this to suggest that, historically, leisure can be conceived of as a site of social discipline through self regulation, using as an example the rational recreation movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Rojek also links this analysis of control with identity politics, suggesting that the vision of self-regulating individuals was

intrinsic to the formation of, and the increasing influence of, a distinct group of people - the 'liberal bourgeois'. Rojek (1993) examines how moral regulation also proceeds in contemporary leisure, through a case study of Disney films. This section will discuss these approaches and assess their value as conceptual tools in understanding the relationship between agency and structure in leisure and, through this, the relationships between the apparent exercise of liberty and the perceived role of control.

Corrigan and Sayer (1985) view leisure as a realm where the state imposes moral order upon the populace, directly and indirectly. Direct control is achieved through the licensing, banning, taxing and policing of activities (for example, licensing laws control liquor consumption). Indirect control is achieved through 'moral example' which establishes a 'moral atmosphere' through which some leisure activities are viewed as normal and healthy whilst others become seen as problematic. Moral example consists of the manipulation of sentiments and symbols which emphasise desired behaviours and collective identities (through, for example marches, parades, festivals of culture, sporting fixtures and so on). Leisure is therefore viewed as an ideological state apparatus which unifies society by minimising difference, and regulates by establishing a moral order of behaviour. It is:

“[A] project of normalising, rendering natural, taken for granted, in a word obvious, what are in fact ontological and epistemological premises of a particular and historical form of social order”

(Corrigan and Sayer 1985: 19).

Although the state is involved in indirect regulation through provision of, or support for, 'approved' leisure programmes (such as adult education) and through its influence upon the moral climate, Corrigan and Sayer argue that the moral order is predominately maintained through self-discipline. As subjects come to see some activities and attitudes as deviant and marginalised whilst others are normal, it is argued that people voluntarily regulate their own behaviours. Perceived freedom can therefore be experienced because control appears to be the outcome of private, internal, individual, decision making processes rather than the result of external impositions of order. Control thus proceeds through the autonomous self-regulation of agents.

The principle of moral regulation is further illustrated by the 'Rational Recreation' movement of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Concerned over the detrimental and corrupting influence of city life with many individuals crowded into small places and the escalation of crime, bourgeois citizens and town planners provided recreational opportunities. By providing legitimate leisure activities, it was hoped that the dangerous free time of individuals would be occupied productively (diversion strategies), and that, through promoting particular leisure activities, 'moral' attitudes could be installed (Heely 1986, Rojek 1989, Wilson 1988). Thus, behaviours were regulated through persuasion and example. Moreover, the bourgeois ideologies spread, became naturalised, and made into the 'norm' through leisure as;

"The aim was to instil habits of saving, perseverance, hygiene, temperance and self control in the poor"  
(Rojek 1989: 34).

People *chose* to participate in activities, but these choices were informed by bourgeois perceptions of, and provision of, 'good' uses of leisure time. Therefore, although leisure participation was chosen, it was far from 'free' as individual choices were influenced towards those options which the bourgeoisie deemed beneficial. Parks, for example, were thought to be healthy and promoted, whilst other 'unhealthy' activities were prohibited.

"Persons are not invited to select or contribute aesthetic and ethical values. Rather they are required to succumb to them. Choice is only allowed within the parameters of these received ideas handed down by the leisure professionals. If leisure and recreational behaviour seeks to transcend these perimeters it is liable to be stigmatised as a menace and danger to society"  
(Rojek 1989: 48).

Leisure was therefore controlled and controlling. What was deemed 'proper' was decided not by individuals but by 'professionals', town managers and the state. Also, a person's choice of leisure pursuits determined how that individual was perceived - as a good citizen or a threat to society. Through these structural determinants, leisure activities controlled the physical aspect of people's behaviours and also exercised mental control over their thoughts and beliefs.

Behaviours within leisure (as opposed to choice of activity) were also restricted to what was deemed proper; as Vaux, one of the founders of New York's Central Park, said:

“the people will need to be trained in the proper use of it and retrained in the abuse of it”  
(cited in Rojek 1989: 46).

Social relationships, too, were controlled through leisure. Alexandra Park in Glasgow, for instance, segregated male and female play facilities. Thus leisure was used as a means of social engineering through which crime and disease in urban settings were thought to be moderated. As Jacks, a commentator on leisure speaking in 1932, said:

“[T]he recreation movement as I understand it is a great work of preventative social medicine. The social ills it prevents are disease crime, vice, folly and bad citizenship in general”  
(quoted in Rojek 1989: 47).

Rojek has not limited his analysis of moral regulation to historical leisure, but argues that it can also be found in contemporary leisure, although he recognises that leisure experiences have changed. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century leisure was experienced as controlled, and was explicitly dominated by ideas of correct behaviour. Contemporary leisure, he argues, is post-modern in character. Because many forms of leisure have been commodified and because moral consensus over appropriate leisure has been diluted, leisure has become an arena where individuals can seek fulfilment in a variety of ways, restricted only by what is available. This is very different from the 19<sup>th</sup> century's ordered imposition of rational behaviour (Rojek 1989). However, he suggests that, although the experience of leisure may differ in now being experienced as more autonomous, leisure's controlling influence remains, if perhaps better hidden.

In 'Disney Culture' (1993), Rojek argues that Disney films are a deliberate exercise in moral regulation. Disney regulates its audiences by showing how society 'should be'. The films promote a white-masculine-capitalistic vision of society by constructing this as the essential society for reason and goodness, and though containing and promoting racist and sexist stereotypes which undermine challenges to that vision. It also regulates by alleviating dissatisfaction with that 'ideal' society. Films consistently have happy endings

which reassure people that, if they live their lives in accordance with Disney values, they will be happy too. The films also serve a compensatory function. That is they disguise people's lack of satisfaction with their lives, or, if this is not possible, make their feelings of dissatisfaction appear infantile and unfounded (Rojek claims, for example, that cartoon characteristics 'get thrashed' so audiences learn to take their punishments too)(Rojek 1993).

This contemporary theorisation of moral regulation is important in two ways. It illustrates that what is frequently described as a Victorian and Edwardian approach to leisure (see Wilson 1988) may still be influential today. Heeley (1988) also makes this argument, claiming that the principle of moral regulation underlines contemporary local authority and youth service leisure provision. It also indicates that moral regulation can be found in private leisure provisions. This is very important because Wearing (1998) criticises the idea of rational recreation because it focuses on state provision, when, she argues, most contemporary leisure is private (in terms of being done in the home, and/or being provided by private organisations). Rojek's analysis illustrates that moral regulation may be an important factor in contemporary and private leisure consumption. Rational recreation theorists (Rojek 1989,1993, Corrigan and Sayer 1985, Heely 1986, and Wilson 1988) therefore suggest how historical and contemporary leisure activities can regulate behaviours through structural power relationships which suggest what is good and desired, and which provide the activities and provision within which these attributes are experienced and learned. It also discourages 'anti-social' leisure by banning or controlling particular activities, as well as by promoting cultural discourses of their unsuitability.

Despite the presence of these controlling influences, Rojek (1989, 1993) has made it clear that he does not perceive society as completely controlled. In accordance with structuration theory, Rojek identifies that individuals may be *influenced* to behave in particular ways, but that they retain the capacity and desire to determine their own actions, and even to alter those structures which influence their actions. Resistance to structural forces is illustrated by the persistence of deviant leisure (drug misuse, sadism and lethal leisure), which



appear to resist social norms of the 'correct' use of leisure time (Rojek 1989). There is an emerging body of literature which investigates such marginal or 'deviant' leisure through which individuals 'risk' themselves through sport (e.g. Wallé 1997, Walter 1984). Such work shows how structures are resisted, but there is also evidence that they are altered. The presence of 'eighteen to thirty holidays' suggests that leisure professionals now have a very different approach to leisure than was evident in the park regulations which separated boys and girls in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, indicating that changes have occurred. Structural change is also implied in attempts to change drug laws, to and legalise 'recreational' drugs such as marijuana.

Although these approaches - moral regulation (historical and contemporary) and rational recreation - perceive control to be a function of different power relationships, or of serving different purposes (for example, in Corrigan and Sayer's (1985) analysis, to control the working classes; in Rojek's (1989) analysis, to create the bourgeoisie), they all suggest that leisure is the site where social control is achieved through the apparent autonomy of participants. Through self-regulation, social control is not imposed upon participants but operates through their choices and their involvement within particular leisure activities. Moreover, because of the recognition of agency, structures are perceived to influence but not to determine actions, and structures themselves may be altered. This structuration influenced approach is a very useful conceptualisation of leisure because it links theories of control with humanistic theories, overcoming the structure/agency dichotomy which has hindered leisure studies. People are empowered as agents of (self)control. Control is achieved through individual regulation within structurally influenced ideas of normality and deviance circulating through society. Individuals are empowered as the source of their own discipline, and are proactive in the leisure choices made. Although social norms determine whether those choices will be seen as moral or amoral, normal or deviant, the role of human agency is recognised through the possibilities of compliance or resistance. Recognising the role of agency thus enables appreciation of the potential for resistance and for the contestation of imposed order alongside an understanding of how social control functions within leisure spaces. This illustrates the complexity of leisure



sites which are contradictory arenas where many discourses are circulated, accepted and contested. In addition, by studying the social role of leisure as an internally coherent and meaningful category and attributing this with serious effects instead of attempting to define it in relation to work, the work/leisure dichotomy is avoided. (Although it could be argued that focusing on the role of leisure, rather than its relationship to work, is merely side-stepping the issue.) Lastly, the concept of moral regulation recognises that leisure exerts a normative effect upon people's behaviours and attitudes, and that these behaviours and attitudes in turn affect people's leisure choices. This situates the theory clearly within a social and cultural context, in which people's actions cannot be seen as freely chosen, but as socially mediated. Particular leisure activities, and behaviour within activities, are controlled either directly or through moral persuasion.

Despite these numerous advantages, these conceptions of leisure also have problems. Marxist interpretations render the role of the state pre-eminent in influencing and ordering social lives, meaning that other relations of power are undervalued. It also continues the problem of assuming a cohesive dominant group with shared interests (Rojek 1995). Rojek's analysis of 19<sup>th</sup> century rational recreation similarly assumes a dominant social class - the bourgeoisie - although his work on Disney films, and his emphasis upon the post-modern, differentiated character of contemporary leisure, do hint that moral regulation can proceed through a multitude of sites, and come from a wide range of power relationships.

A second problem concerns the exact role of human agency within these theories. While Rojek (1989,1993) and Corrigan and Sayer (1985) follow the structuration philosophy, they tend to emphasise the effect of structures to the detriment of the analysis of the role of human agency. There is very little analysis, for example, of explicit resistance to structures, or to structures altering though time. Although Rojek (1989) and others have pointed towards some distinct forms of leisure that appear to counter structural influences and social norms (e.g. lethal leisure and the drug culture), these activities are positioned as discrete instances of resistance. Resistance is not investigated

within the context of the studies through which they argue moral regulation operates; i.e. resistance to Disney films or to rational recreation is not investigated. This means that the relationship between structures and agents cannot be fully investigated. It also makes resistance appear sporadic, isolated, and as rarely affecting the structures of control. While human agency *is* acknowledged, this tends to be because structures work through agents rather than upon them (i.e. regulation is self-imposed, not directly imposed by others). However, without recognising how humans resist structural influences, agency - though active - becomes little more than an instrument of control. Self-regulation, as theorised above, is therefore not an adequate measure of agency within the context of a structurational approach. Attention must also be paid to how individuals affect structures and this is noticeably lacking.

Also, although these works recognise *that* individuals do discipline themselves, they neglect to analyse *how* individuals discipline themselves, that is the processes by which self-regulation proceeds. Leisure is therefore identified as prescriptive and normative, but the processes by which this is the case are not explained. Why and how certain activities are viewed as normal and others deviant is not examined, nor is how people are incited into self-regulation. Self-regulation therefore remains a limited theorisation of the leisure experience.

## **2.6 A FOUCAULDIAN LEISURE?**

Foucault's influence is not, as yet, widespread within leisure studies. There is very little work which applies Foucauldian ideas of control to leisure (although there are a few in connection with sports studies: for example, Kirk (1996) and Summers (2000), and Wearing (1998), although not attempting a Foucauldian analysis of leisure, acknowledges a Foucauldian influence. This relative lack of Foucauldian approaches could be a reflection of the early empiricist influences in leisure sociology, and its later domination by structuralist approaches (Parry 1983). However, given Foucault's emphasis on discipline and control (Foucault, 1991b) and on the role of agency (Foucault 1988, 1990, 1991a,

1991c and 1991d), the development of this perspective would appear to be of great value to leisure studies.

The following section looks briefly at the similarities between a Foucauldian approach and the links between agency and structure within leisure as theorised by Corrigan and Sayer (1985) and Rojek (1989, 1993). This illustrates how a Foucauldian interpretation shares the strengths of these approaches. However, it will also be suggested that a Foucauldian approach may overcome some of the problems recognised within these theories of moral regulation and rational recreation, and so be an especially useful tool for investigating leisure.

The agency/structure dialectic already recognised points in a Foucauldian direction through the way that social control is linked to the self-regulation of the subject acting in accordance with social norms. This self-regulating individual shares similarities with Foucault's conception of the subject. Foucault argued that subjects are constructed through three interweaving discourses: by their relationship to epistemes (bodies of knowledge which come to be seen as true and which describe and explain aspects of human existence), by their relation to normative systems, or rules, which guide human conduct and correct and normalise deviancies (the disciplines), and by their ethical relationship to themselves (how one understands and works on oneself) (Foucault 1991c). These three discourses are identifiable in Rojek's (1989, 1993) and Corrigan and Sayer's (1985) ideas of control through leisure. This control is not conceived as imposed upon subjects but works through decisions made by the subject (although the decision making process is influenced). This recognises the active role of the agent and his/her capabilities for resistance or compliance, and thus shares strong similarities with Foucault's concept of the ethical work of the subject. Disciplinary strategies are implied in the recognition of penalties given to non-compliance or resistance which is suggestive of tactics of observation, judgement and normalisation within disciplines. Lastly, the recognition of social norms to which subjects are incited to comply echoes Foucault's conception of the discourses of truth. Therefore, while Foucault never focused on 'leisure' per se, his work offers a conceptual stance which recognises the agency/structure dialectic and the

active role of agency in self-discipline. Agency and structure are linked together in a way that recognises the autonomy of the subject to act, to choose and to resist through its leisure activities, alongside the more structural controls influencing its decisions (social norms and prescriptions). However, a Foucauldian approach has differences from, as well as similarities with, Rojek's and Corrigan and Sayer's work, which may overcome some of the problems discussed in section 2.5.

Firstly, unlike moral regulation, Foucault does not envisage the existence of a single power relationship. He argues instead that power operates through all rather than existing as the possession of a single class or group of people. In this way Foucault avoids the presumptions of homogenous dominant groups which hinder Marxist interpretations and theories of bourgeois rational recreation. Secondly, Foucault studies the mechanics, strategies and tactics of control in depth, illustrating the material process through which control proceeds. He therefore examines, investigates and explains the processes of control. And lastly, Foucault explicitly recognises the importance of resistance, as through his work he attempts to reveal how power works in order that we may discover our subjugation, and then, escape it.

The next chapter will look at three areas of Foucault's philosophy which could contribute to a Foucauldian analysis of the leisured subject: his work on individual ethics through *'Care of the Self'* (1990), his work on discipline through *Discipline and Punish* (1991b), and how these are linked together through the idea of governmentality (Foucault 1991a). These will then be linked to the preceding discussion of leisure to see if Foucault's theories can provide a useful approach to theorise and to effectively unite the two important aspects of the leisure experience: its perception as freedom and its conception as a means of social control.

# CHAPTER THREE: Foucauldian Social Control

## 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter argued that a Foucauldian perspective was useful because of its potential to unify two poles of leisure research (ideas of social control and personal autonomy). This chapter looks more closely into exactly how Foucault's work achieves this. In doing so it serves three purposes. First, it provides an expository account of those aspects of Foucault's work that address ideas of social control and individual agency (the former most evident in *Discipline and Punish*, the latter in both the care of self literature, and his ideas of governmentality). Second, it evaluates how Foucault's work has been applied, arguing that some interpretations of *Discipline and Punish* have been overly deterministic, and, in contrast, that interpretations of individual ethics have prioritised agency at the expense of disciplinary techniques. Third, it puts forward an interpretation of Foucault's work, which emerges from this discussion, that will inform the proceeding analysis. This chapter provides, then, an exposition, a critique, and the philosophical approach that is adopted in this thesis.

This thesis comprises a Foucauldian interpretation of social discipline. Two strands of Foucault's oeuvre are used: the idea of a disciplinary society as envisaged in *Discipline and Punish* (*Discipline and Punish*) which theorises how individuals are disciplined within institutional settings to conform to behavioural norms, and his later work on ethics and governance which examines how individuals make themselves into subjects and are governed through self regulation (1990; 1991a; 1991c). These two strands are necessary to produce a comprehensive Foucauldian analysis of discipline. Though *Discipline and Punish* is the most obvious theorisation of discipline within Foucault's work, to use this theory alone would ignore a large part of Foucault's later work on subjectivity, and result in a partial vision of Foucault's theories. Lacombe (1996), for example, has critiqued what he sees as a

tendency in social research to prioritise *Discipline and Punish* at the expense of Foucault's later work. He argues that this has mistakenly led to an emphasis on social control at the expense of what he views as Foucault's appreciation of human autonomy (see also Bevir 1999, Bunton 1997, Magill 1997, Nettleton 1997, Patton 1998, Peterson 1997, Pickett 1996 and Smart 1998). Whilst agreeing with Lacombe that Foucault did recognise the role of agency, I differ from him in suggesting that the importance of agency is recognised within *Discipline and Punish*, as well as in Foucault's later work. I also argue that it is important to consider Foucault's ethical work not in order to moderate disciplinary perceptions, but to appreciate the full extent of disciplinary strategies operating within society. In contrast to Lacombe, Foucauldian ethics can and have been seen to extend rather than ameliorate ideas of social control present in *Discipline and Punish* (see Castel 1991, Colwell 1994, Eskes, Duncan and Miller 1998, Haber 1994). Whilst Foucault confined his analysis to institutional sites in *Discipline and Punish* (the prison, the hospital, the school and the factory, for example), discussions of Foucault's ethics illustrate that disciplinary strategies operate in many sites outwith institutional locales. However, this disciplinary society does provide space for the operation and experience of individual agency, alongside extensive disciplinary influences. In a study of social discipline, therefore, it is important to consider Foucault's theorisation of individual ethical practices alongside *Discipline and Punish*.

For clarity this chapter is divided into two sections - the first, examining Foucault's disciplinary theories, the second, his work on ethics and governmentality. The first section looks at the disciplinary strategies that Foucault identifies in *Discipline and Punish*. This provides the framework through which outdoor adventure is analysed for its overtly disciplinary effects. Identification of the disciplinary techniques through which discipline is argued to operate provides the medium to assess whether outdoor adventure may be considered disciplinary, and, if so, to what extent. In simple terms it assesses the 'match' or 'the fit' between Foucault's disciplinary philosophy and the practice of outdoor adventure. It also serves another, more theoretical purpose. By recognising the ways in which something may be considered 'disciplinary', this section forms the basis of the critique that self-regulation, which has



been interpreted as the domain of human agency, also involves disciplinary influences. Lastly, a major criticism that has been raised against the disciplinary thesis within *Discipline and Punish*, namely, that it is overly deterministic, is addressed to show that it is based in a misunderstanding of Foucault's conception of power.

Section two goes on to examine Foucault's thesis of the self-subjection of individuals through ethical work and the idea that modern governance proceeds through the self-regulation of the governed population. It examines how these aspects of Foucault's work have been interpreted and used, and argues that many theories of governance fail to recognise that self-regulation is a disciplinary process. Some interpretations, however, do recognise the presence of disciplinary mechanism operating within self regulation (Colwell 1994, Eske et al 1998). The contradiction between interpretations which, like Lacombe (1996), see Foucault's conception of ethics as a recognition of human agency, and those which argue that it is a continuation of disciplinary tactics is then investigated.

### **3. 2. DISCIPLINE AND PUNISH**

Foucault's disciplinary society, or carceral archipelago, is characterised by power / knowledge's creation of norms of behaviour in social activities and attitudes (in terms of criminality, madness, education, sexuality and so on), through which individuals are disciplined into conformity. Individuals who fail to behave 'normally' are stigmatised as 'deviant' and subjected to exclusion and corrective techniques (normalisation). To understand how this is believed to be achieved, three important parts of *Discipline and Punish* are examined: the site of discipline, the methods of discipline, and the outcomes of the disciplinary process.



### 3.2.1 DISCIPLINE AND PUNISH - THE DISCIPLINARY PROCESS

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault used the example of the prison to show how discipline creates useful and obedient subjects. He showed how the prison was the site where the active criminal was transformed into the obedient subject, using techniques which 'disciplined' the inmate. Though unique in the extent of its disciplinary tactics, the disciplinary techniques seen operating in a prison were simply a magnification of those which existed in and 'disciplined' the rest of society. He claims of the introduction of the penal mechanism:

'[H]ow could prison not be immediately accepted when, by locking up, retraining and rendering docile, *it merely reproduces, with a little more emphasis, all the mechanisms that are to be found in the social body?* The prison is like a rather disciplined barracks, a strict school, a dark workshop, *but not qualitatively different.*'

(Foucault 1991b: 233 emphasis added)

One of the main themes in Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* is the argument that society is permeated by a network of disciplinary institutions that influence individual's behaviour through the many spaces in which lives may be experienced (the work place, the school, the hospital, the prison and so on).

Foucault argued that discipline is imposed through what he terms the 'micro physics of power'. Power is not 'top heavy', imposed from above upon the populace, but is exercised through a network of techniques that involve and work through those who are subjected. These techniques produce docile bodies by four main strategies. First, individuals are distributed, in space and by ability. This is achieved by enclosure (isolation from other groups of people), isolation (from others of the same group), by assigning ranks and hierarchies, and by placing them in distinct functional sites (for example, ill people in hospital and insane people in mental asylums). Thus everyone has specific places in terms of location, function and rank. The second disciplinary technique is the control over the activities of those subjected. Time is used as productively as possible through the use of timetables which ensure permanent occupation and through constant supervision which maintains the quality of activity. Moreover, the activities themselves are controlled. People are

trained in how to do each activity. There is a proper way to perform every activity which optimises efficiency and needs to be learned. So individuals' activities are disciplined to maximise efficacy. Thirdly, activities are divided into graduated segments through which individuals progress, from the simple to the increasingly difficult. The level of each stage will be known and remain constant, so individual characteristics can be known at any time by their position in the sequence. This technique Foucault termed the organisation of geneses. The last technique is the composition of forces, in which individuals are distributed in relation to one another to obtain the most efficient machine possible, illustrated by the development of military tactics:

“Tactics, the art of constructing, with located bodies, coded activities and trained aptitudes, mechanisms in which the product of various forces is increased by their calculated combination are no doubt the highest form of disciplinary tactics”  
(Foucault 1991a: 169).

Foucault argued that these four aspects of discipline – control of space, time, activity and rank - are enforced by two simple small-scale instruments: hierarchical observation and normalising judgement. Observation promotes discipline by visibility. Inappropriate behaviour can be seen and punished. To maximise effectiveness, therefore, observation should be continuous. The disciplinary gaze was epitomised by Panoptic architecture which Foucault examines in depth. Bentham's Panopticon was a model of a prison in which inmates were located in cells in a circular form around a central tower. Each cell was isolated from all the others and had two large windows. One window was at the back of each cell to let in light. The second was at the front so the guard could see the cell and its inmate. The Panoptic tower, however, had slatted windows so the cell inmate could never tell if he or she was being observed. Because the guard could look at any cell at any time, but the inmates could never tell if they were being observed, the inmates were forced to discipline themselves to behave as if they were being watched at all times. Discipline was thus externally instigated (by the threat of observation) but internally enforced. Normalising judgement accompanies the disciplinary gaze. Once the gaze had identified what is considered inappropriate behaviour the actions are penalised and corrected. Punishment has a dual role; by its

unpleasantness it acted as a deterrent for both the 'normal' and 'abnormal', whilst through its form it was corrective as it consisted of training the individual into desired behaviours. Those who refused or failed correction were characterised as 'abnormal' and 'delinquent'.

In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault envisages human identity as a construct of power relations. Disciplinary practices of observation and surveillance allow people to be judged as normal and deviant in terms of their relationship to norms established by dominant discourses. Moreover, discipline provides opportunities for 'knowing' individuals. Observation, examination and judgement provide opportunities to measure how each person relates to the norm and how they compare with each other thus creating individual identities (1991b: 184). Thus discipline manufactures knowledges of individual existences that are not simply a crude division of the normal and the deviant, but are detailed, individualised subjectivities. Foucault also argued that power's disciplinary tactics do not just create subjects, but create subjects that support power's hegemony. The carceral archipelago deliberately manipulates or trains bodies to learn and consistently to reproduce desired behaviour by fostering aptitudes for particular activities (the uniform bearing of a regiment of soldiers, the mastering, and repetition of particular work tasks), alongside an obedient and disciplined attitude. This attitude, originally imposed from without, becomes internalised as individuals discipline themselves to act in ways which are appropriate or desirable for the perceived effective functioning of society; for example, by avoiding criminality, becoming a conscientious school child and a productive labourer. This facilitates the development of useful individuals as they become both productive and docile:

"Thus discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience). In short it dissociates power from the body; on the one hand it turns it into an 'aptitude', a capacity which it seeks to increase; on the other it reverses the course of energy, the power that might result from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection"  
(Foucault 1991a: 138)

Even those who resist disciplinary techniques benefit society by forming part of

an excluded social population, which provides a deterrent to the normal populace by illustrating the dangers and consequences of deviance.

*Discipline and Punish* therefore theorised how productive and useful individuals are 'made' through disciplinary mechanisms. Whilst dominant discourses identify the norm to which people should aspire, it is through disciplinary mechanisms that individuals are observed and judged in terms of their relationship to this norm and labelled in ways that create their identities.

### **3.2.2 CRITICS OF *DISCIPLINE AND PUNISH***

Foucault's disciplinary thesis cannot be simply applied and used to evaluate the presence or extent of outdoor adventures' disciplinary role without recognition of the criticisms that have been raised against it. As has been argued, a Foucauldian approach is considered useful for this thesis because it provides opportunities to investigate the social role of leisure through ideas of social control *and* agency. This dualistic interpretation of Foucault, however, is not the only reading in circulation; some scholars interpret Foucault's work, particularly *Discipline and Punish*, as overly structural, producing determined subjects in a world dominated by disciplinary processes and effects (Bevir 1999, Garland 1990, Dews 1984). It is important to recognise these structuralist interpretations, because, if they are correct the alleged prioritisation of structure at the expense of agency undermines the utility of Foucault's ideas to link the control and agency aspects of leisure. Any Foucauldian interpretation would be structural rather than dualistic. Yet, these claims have been challenged by other authors (Allen 1991, Heller 1996, Lacombe 1996 and Pickett 1996), and are investigated here to show that, while structural influences clearly exist in Foucault's ideas, they do leave room for agency, and consequently an overtly structural deterministic interpretation of Foucault is a mistaken one.

Three interrelated criticisms are raised against Foucault which are relevant to the agency/structure dialectic. First, his theories are accused of positing a view of society that is totally disciplined; second, that the social construction of

individuals completely determines subjectivities, leaving no room for self-determination; and third, that these determined subjects have no capacity for resistance. His critics therefore condemn him for the neglect of individual agency. If these critiques were correct, this would indeed be a grave problem; but, as shown below, each of these criticisms has been effectively countered. I argue that these criticisms arise from a misinterpretation of Foucault's conception of power. The rest of this section examines the criticisms raised against Foucault in more detail, and the interpretation of power that underpins such critiques, and compares the latter with Foucault's own vision of power.

Gardner (1990) and Dews (1984) criticise Foucault for suggesting that society is totally disciplined<sup>3</sup>. Foucault, it is argued, claims that society is dominated by the disciplinary archipelago through which all society is subjected to disciplinary influences for the purpose of social control. Because of the omnipresence of disciplinary technology there are no opportunities to be 'undisciplined', or to resist the disciplinary influences. This inculcates universal conformity to dominant discourses and norms of behaviours.

Dews (1984: 87) states:

*"Discipline and Punish repeatedly returns to the contrast between the illusion of a social order grounded on the will of all, and the grim reality of a technology of power which constantly enforces conformity to norms and secures 'the submission of forces and bodies'"*  
(emphasis added).

As a consequence of this interpretation of a disciplined society, individuals come to be seen in two ways. Because all individuals are subjected to social control in all areas of their lives, subjects are claimed to be completely subjugated. There remains no autonomy in identity formation or subjection as individuals are constructed entirely by the operation of power:

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<sup>3</sup> More recently Garland has acknowledged that Foucault recognised the role of individual agency in his later works on governmentality and ethics (see Garland 1997). Whilst welcoming this recognition of agency, I argue that Foucault can be seen to conceptualise agency as important throughout his work, in *Discipline and Punish* as well as in his writings on governmentality and ethics.

“Foucault’s argument is that any theory of sovereignty or self determination must be abandoned, since the ‘free subject’ upon which such theories rely is in fact intrinsically heteronomous, constituted by power”  
(Dews 1984: 87).

and Heller (1996: 78), discussing how Foucault has been misinterpreted, summarises his critics’ view in the following way:

“subjects are created by power-relations they do not consciously control, the creation of subjectivity is an homogenous process in which subjects are little more than ‘individual copies that are mechanically punched out’. As a result, ‘subversive subjectivity’ - subjectivity that is opposed to the interest of power - cannot exist”

As this quote indicates, a totally disciplined society and totally determined subjects leave no space for resistance. Because individuals are disciplined into compliance with power’s norms, they come to share power’s wishes. As a consequence there is no motivation for resistance. Heller (1996: 92) summarises this criticism:

“in practice, every social formation discursively constructs only those subject positions that are compatible with its conditions of reproduction, thereby eliminating the possibility of autonomous, counter-hegemonic subject positions.”

Haber (1994: 101) sums up both of these criticisms effectively:

“If individuals are wholly constructed by the power/knowledge regime Foucault describes, how can discipline be resisted in the first place?”

This is indeed a very bleak picture; a vision of a disciplinary society, totally dominated, from which its members have neither the motivation, nor opportunities to escape. It is, however, an incorrect interpretation of Foucault’s ideas, one which is based on a misunderstanding of his conception of power. The following section looks briefly at the idea of power implicit within these critiques, and contrasts this against Foucault’s own portrayal of power. It illustrates the disparity between how Foucault has been alleged to conceive of power, and how he actually does so. In the light of Foucault’s conception of power, the three criticisms identified above are examined to illustrate more fully Foucault’s conception of power relations and to refute the structuralist critics.



### 3.2.3 FOUCAULT'S POWER

The three criticisms referred to above all centre around a misunderstanding of Foucault's conception of power. The idea of a disciplined society, populated by constructed, subjugated individuals with no desire or capacity to excise autonomy or resist their subjugation suggests a one-sided repressive power which dominates society on behalf of some unnamed entity. Power is owned by a dominant group or individual, and exercised upon a subjugated majority unable to resist. Garland (1990: 171), for example, claims/

"Foucault understands power as an apparatus of constraint. In the end, power is a kind of total confinement which envelopes the individual, moulding the body and soul into patterns of conformity. Power is at once socialisation and social control. It constructs the individual as a subject, but it is always an individual who is 'subjected' or subjugated in the same process."

Garland goes on to say that the 'resistance of prisoners to the disciplinary process, and the failure of the prison to effect their reform, raises serious theoretical problems for Foucault's account' (1990: 171), clearly interpreting the Foucauldian subjects as incapable of resistance to power. Dews (1984: 92) interprets Foucault's conception of power in a similar way:

"Foucault has no difficulty, therefore, in describing the functioning of modern societies as determined by systems of power, but he does have difficulty defining what this power operates against ... The result of this simplification, however, is that power, ... having nothing determinate to which it could be opposed, loses all explanatory content and becomes a ubiquitous, metaphysical principle."

Dew's interpretation of 'power' is that it determines everything to the extent that no opposition is possible, and 'power' therefore having no need to exert its influence (because of its success, there remains nothing to exert power over) is nothing more than a 'metaphysical principle'.

This conception of power is, in fact, the antithesis to the way Foucault perceived power, particularly clearly articulated in two articles, 'The Subject and Power' (1982) and 'The Ethic of Care for the Self' (1988). There are two major differences between Foucault's power and that interpreted by his



critics. First, Foucault argues that power cannot be possessed by any individual because it is not an abstract object, but a relationship:

“I hardly ever use the word ‘power’ and if I do sometimes it is always a short cut to the expression I always use: the relationships of power. But there are ready made patterns: when one speaks of ‘power’, people immediately think of a political structure, a government, a dominant social class, the master facing the slave and so on. That is not at all what I think when I speak of the ‘relationship of power’. I mean that in human relations, whatever they are - whether it be a question of communicating verbally, as we are doing right now, or a question of a love relationship, an institutional or economic relationship - power is always present: I mean the relationship in which one wishes to direct the behaviour of another”  
(Foucault 1988: 11).

Second, power is not imposed on someone<sup>4</sup>, but operates on the actions of others. Therefore power relations work through people by encouraging them to act in certain ways:

“[W]hat defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action which *does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead it acts upon their actions*: an action upon an action, on existing actions or on those that may arise in the present or the future”  
(Foucault 1988: 789 emphasis added).

The status of the individual as an active partner whose individual actions are the necessary medium for the exercise of power refutes the idea of a totally dominating repressive power. The individual(s) attempting to control others’ actions are always faced with an active subject, whose actions power must work through, and who cannot be forced or guaranteed to obey (though they may be influenced by dominant discourses - social norms - and disciplinary practices):

“A power relationship can only be articulated on the basis of two elements which are each indispensable if it is really to be a power relationship: that ‘the other’ the one over whom power is exercised) be thoroughly recognised and maintained to the very end as a person who acts; and that, *faced with a relationship of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results and possible interventions may open up*”  
(Foucault 1982: 789 emphasis added).

As Bevir (1999a) argues, because power flows through the consciousness of individuals and recognises that they have the capacity to act, it must be

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<sup>4</sup> Foucault terms the forcible imposition of activities such as achieved in slavery, as ‘physical determination rather than ‘power’ (1982: 221)

accepted that they have the potential to respond in a variety of ways which are not calculable nor determined by power. Power therefore presumes and works through individuals who have the capacity for self-subjection and resistance.

Foucault's idea of the exercise of power is then very different from that assumed by his critics. Power is not owned by some and imposed on others, but is a relationship where individuals attempt to influence the actions of others; because this influence works through the actions of others, it can never have a guaranteed outcome of acceptance and obedience. In fact, Foucault argues that agonism is intrinsic to power relations (Foucault 1982: 321). As a result of this perspective Foucault sees power relations as neutral, neither intrinsically good nor bad, but rather as an inescapable feature of society. He says "[a] society without power relations can only be an abstraction" (Foucault, 1982: 791). Power relations are not intrinsically repressive; because of their operation through subjects, there always remains opportunities for resistance. Power relationships may in fact be beneficial; Foucault cites the teacher - student relationship or that between lovers as positive examples of power relationships (Foucault 1988: 18). However, they can also be dominating, and contain a stable asymmetry of control that consistently curtails the freedom of one partner. These repressive relationships, Foucault argues, should be challenged (Foucault 1982, Foucault 1988). In this formulation Foucault engages with critics, for example Bevir (1999), who claim that his theories are apolitical because they provide no normative criteria with which to decide between different forms of power. By differentiating between dominating and non-dominating power relationships, a morality, or ethics of power is suggested.

Informed by Foucault's conception of power, the specific problems that have been used to label Foucault's work as problematically structuralist can be investigated and be seen as a misrepresentation of Foucault, who recognises both structural influences and the importance of agency.

### 3.2.4 A DISCIPLINED SOCIETY OR A DISCIPLINARY SOCIETY?

Foucault has been criticised for producing a vision of society which is totally disciplined and determined (Dews 1984, Gardner 1990). However, Foucault's understanding of power relationships, and of the ubiquity of resistance to power operations, problematises the assumption of a disciplined society because it relies on ideas of total compliance. Other writers have interpreted Foucault's carceral archipelago differently, and more usefully, to mean a society where disciplinary practices operate and influence individuals but not one where they are omnipresent and omnipotent. Foucault's theory is of a *disciplinary* rather than a *disciplined* society.

Smart (1992: 73), for example, recognised that Foucault's conception of the careceral archipelago was a generalised formula of rule, not an actual practice:

“[t]he extension of the disciplines throughout the social body, the emergence of a generalised surveillance, constitute a general formula of domination in contemporary society. The emphasis here is on panopticism, generalised as surveillance, as a formula rather than as a practice which functions at optimum to produce a programmed society. Thus ‘disciplinary society’ refers to the diffusion of the formula, to the extension of disciplinary mechanisms, not to the realisation of a programme for a disciplined and ordered society.”

Thus, whilst practices and influences of discipline are widespread, they do not have totalising effects.

Within Foucault's substantive studies, as well as in his abstract theorisation of the nature of power, there is evidence that he did not conceive of society as disciplined, but recognised the existence of disciplinary techniques. Within *Discipline and Punish*, for example, prison inmates did not emerge from prisons as reformed characters; most often they emerged as delinquents, likely to re-offend. This resistance is not limited to non-compliance with social norms (i.e. rejecting the social norm of law abiding behaviour with participation in criminal activities). Failure to do so may, in fact, serve disciplinary functions,

as Foucault argued that the persistence of a delinquent population was important because it justified the extension of social surveillance, divided the working class, re-formulated political actions as criminality, and acted as a deterrence (Foucault, 1991a). Resistance can also be seen where people reject labels and subjectivities which are imposed as a consequence of 'deviant' behaviour. Offenders who resist the label of 'delinquents', and are celebrated as popular heroes, are recognised in *Discipline and Punish* (see also Heller 1996). Resistance is also recognised in Foucault's project, which was to problematise common sense notions as constructions, draw attention to the source of the imposition, facilitating and encouraging resistance to those impositions.

Foucault, then, clearly recognised that society is not totally determined in both his abstract philosophy and his substantive work. Factors other than the disciplines are seen to influence and to motivate human actors, and, in spite of the exercise of disciplinary techniques, opportunities remain for non-disciplinary influences and effects. Disciplines do not exert a totalising determining effect, and their practice does not reduce society to a homogenous mass. Indeed, the very presence of disciplinary activities suggests that there are those who do not conform with social norms; if these alternative discourses and subjectivities were not present, what value would the disciplines have and who would be disciplined? Foucault's vision of society is hence heterogeneous not homogenous. Disciplinary practices attempt to inculcate conformity, but because these techniques operate against a background of different ideas, beliefs, discourses, subjectivities and resistances, their practice does not always achieve their disciplinary aims. Society should not be seen as a disciplined monolith, but as permeated by multiple discourses and identities, some of which support and conform to dominant groups and their beliefs (hegemonic), whilst others challenge them (counter-hegemonic). As discussed later, this also has consequences for the criticisms of a determined subject.

### 3.2.5 DETERMINED SUBJECTIVITIES AND RESISTANCE

The recognition that society is not totally determined has the corollary that its members are also not totally determined. Two slightly different, but intertwined critiques that have been levelled against the Foucauldian subject. First, that it lacks agency (it passively obeys power's dictates rather than expressing autonomous choices); second, that it is socially constructed in ways which ensure its compliance with dominant power's wishes (therefore, even if it has agency, it will use its capacities to comply with and to promote social norms). This was argued by Haber (1994: 100) who claimed that:

“[r]esistance is ... made problematic at the level of desire. Since we are formed by strategies of power we may well identify our interest with that very power which was formulated to oppress us.”

Both of these perspectives will be examined to show that these visions of the determined subject do not exist in Foucault's work. Instead, by recognising subject agency, in terms of its actions and its identity, Foucault acknowledges a subject capable of resistance.

Foucault does not envisage individuals as 'cultural dopes' or believe that 'human agency is a mere reflection of social structures' (Smart 1982: 73). In fact, it is wrong to envisage the Foucauldian subject as without capacities for self-determination, because self-determination and the agency of individuals are intrinsic to Foucault's conception of power and to the operation of disciplinary mechanisms. To deny agency in subjects would undermine Foucault's understanding of the disciplinary mechanisms.

As has been pointed out, Foucault argued that power works through individuals, not just upon them, and with this conception of power, in which the subject is a participant in the process, the subject must always be recognised as having some agency. Although the disciplines encourage and influence individuals to accept and abide by dominant discourses, the Foucauldian subject does retain some control over his/her life. Subjectivities are influenced by the effects of power relations, disciplinary techniques and dominant discourses, but the

subject is involved in both accepting and reproducing those discourses, in deciding their own response to them (which can be compliance or resistance), and is active in internalising the disciplinary effects.

That the subject is active in enforcing discipline can be illustrated by the way the subject is made responsible for his/her own discipline within the Panopticon. Though the environs are designed to create the circumstances in which individuals are encouraged to discipline themselves, it is the subjects who control their own behaviour. This reliance of discipline upon individual complicity with disciplinary mechanisms and aims means that the subject is not simply a subject of power but also possesses power. This was identified by Patton (1998: 65) in his conception of the subject as 'thin':

"This human material is active: it is composed of forces or endowed with certain capacities. As such it must be understood in terms of power, where this term is understood in its primary sense of capacity to do or become certain things. This conception of the human material may therefore be supposed to be a 'thin' conception of the subject of thought and action: whatever else it may be, the human subject is a being endowed with certain capacities. It is a subject of power, but this power is only realised in and through the diversity of human bodily capacities and forms of subjectivity."

The very mechanisms of Foucault's discipline necessitate human agency, and therefore recognise human power. This means that, in a Foucauldian interpretation, human subjects cannot be perceived as inert recipients of subjugating forces. Instead, humans must always be recognised as empowered and capable of forming their own subjectivities. Moreover, because disciplinary techniques rely on the subject's participation and compliance, disciplinary techniques must contain opportunities for the manifestation of resistance. When it is possible to recognise that individuals are active in the creation of their subjectivities, they must also be acknowledged as capable of resistance. It is in fact hard to distinguish between the two, as determining one's own subjectivity is the major form of resistance. As Pickett (1996: 464) argues, the individual is the product of power:

"The practice of resistance is directly linked to the practice of self-creation."

Because power operates through the individual, to reject imposed constructions



and to exert self-determination simultaneously exercises agency, produces self-determined individuals, and resists power's attempts to impose subjectivities. Making the spaces, and recognising the abilities for resistance, are, however, only part of the story.

Resistance is not only possible because the mechanics of power make space for it (i.e. by creating opportunities), but because the constructed subjects are *motivated* to resist. Dews' (1984) assumption that, because all Foucault's subjects are socially constructed they can only be homogenous and compliant, ignores the fact that different and conflicting subject positions exist within society (Heller 1996). Here the recognition that the disciplined society does not exist has implications for the concept of the 'determined' subject. As has been pointed out, because society is *not* effectively disciplined, there is no singular dominant discourse permeating society which can impose homogeneous subjectivities. Rather, there exist a variety of discourses, some reinforcing disciplines and some contradicting them. Because there are different discourses permeating society, the social construction of subjects can produce different subject-positions. Heller, for example, comparing constructions of workers and industrialists, argues:

"What differs between the two positions is not the ontological status of their construction, but the historical contingencies their construction involves: *both are socially constructed, but not by the same discourses*. Different discourses construct different subject positions."

(Heller 1996: 93 original emphasis)

Moreover, because it has been argued that members of society possess individual agency, it can be argued that they are not just subject to different discourses, but that subjects determine themselves by choosing from available discourses. It is not simply a case of different subject positions as argued by Heller, but different subjectivities made from the choices of individuals who select from a multitude of social discourses. Bevir (1999: 67) sums this up well:

'Agents...only exist in specific social contexts, but these contexts never determine how they try to construct themselves. Although agents necessarily live within regimes of power/knowledge, these regimes do not determine the experiences they can have, the ways they can exercise their



reason, the beliefs they can adopt, or the actions they can attempt to perform. Agents are creative beings: it is just that their creativity occurs in a given social context that influences it.'

Disciplinary society, then, does not produce a single subject, but, because it is characterised by different discourses, different subject positions are created. Subjects are therefore constructed through both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses. Because different subject positions and different subjectivities exist with different interests, conflicts of interest emerge. Because these conflicts are embodied in individuals endowed with capacities to act and to change things, resistance ensues. Pickett (1996) explicitly recognises the importance of resistance in Foucault's work, tracing the development of this idea throughout Foucault's career, and recognising its central importance in his work. Resistance is not absent from Foucault work but is an intrinsic element of it. Foucault did not envisage, as some critics claim that discipline prevents autonomy and resistance, but envisaged these as two partners, one the necessary counterpart of the other:

"Power is exercised only over free subjects and only insofar as they are free. By this we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibility in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments, may be realized[sic]. Where the determining factors saturate the whole there is no relationship of power; slavery is not a power relationship when the man is in chains...Consequently there is no face-to-face confrontation of power or freedom, which are mutually exclusive (freedom disappears everywhere where power is exercised), but a much more complicated interplay. In this game freedom may well appear as the condition for the exercise of power at the same time its precondition, since freedom must exist for power to be exerted, and also its permanent support, since without the possibility of recalcitrance, power would be equivalent to a physical determination"  
(Foucault 1982: 790).

It must however be noted that subjectivity and resistance, whilst possible, are always bounded. Subjects are structurally constrained to act within the discursive systems in which they are placed. They can form themselves either as compliant or rebellious actors and so exert choices over their identities, but those choices have perimeters set by the discursive regimes in which they are placed.

Although Foucault does provide space for agency and resistance in his theorisation of discipline, these aspects only receive limited attention (Haber 1994). This is because *Discipline and Punish* is an expository account of how control operates in society. The emphasis is on how people are exposed to disciplinary influences, what those influence are and how they proceed. However, Foucault's project is not simply descriptive but is also critical in its aim. He wants to use the revelations of the process of power as a resource to critique and resist the functioning of power; before resistance is possible, it is necessary to know what one is resisting. As such his theories have radical intent, exposition in order to facilitate change (Haber 1994), and such radical intentions necessitate the conception of individual resistance. However, his descriptions of the operation of control within *Discipline and Punish* have led misleadingly to the idea of a controlled rather than a controlling society, and structurally determined rather than self-determined subjectivities. Yet, as has been argued here, Foucault does acknowledge the role of the subject within *Discipline and Punish*, although the role of agency is most clearly articulated in his later works on individual ethics and governance.

To summarise: the subject is encouraged into particular forms of behaviour determined as normal by dominant discourses and by the disciplines. However, it is the subjects who have control over their own actions; these cannot be seen as knee-jerk reactions, but are consciously made decisions. Foucault's disciplinary techniques do affect the decisions that individuals make, and do construct individuals. Yet, the disciplines do not discipline society into an homogenous, subjectified mass. Because the disciplines work through individual agency rather than just upon it, they entail resistance as an intrinsic element. Foucault does not posit an overly structural account as some critics have claimed, but does recognise the duality of structure and agency. In spite of some criticisms which have been levelled against Foucault's alleged structural bias, it offers a useful way of linking agency with structure.

Foucault's portrayal of the disciplinary society therefore appears to be a useful way to theorise social control, and outdoor adventure can be investigated to

see whether it is 'disciplinary' by applying Foucault's understanding of control to outdoor adventure. Foucault's work will be used in an instrumental rather than an interrogative way. That is, the aim of this study is to discover whether the disciplinary techniques Foucault identified are present within outdoor adventure, not to 'test' the value of Foucault's theory. The questions to be looked at include; are the four aspects of discipline (control of space, time, activity and rank) and the means of their implementation (hierarchical observation and normalising judgement) evident in outdoor adventure? Do outdoor adventure programmes exert disciplinary influences in the way Foucault envisaged in other social institutions? The extent to which outdoor adventure 'fits' Foucault's ideas appears to provide a very effective way of evaluating its disciplinary role. It is very important to see if outdoor adventure can be interpreted as having a disciplinary role because it has been associated with traditional definitions of leisure which, it is suggested, has led to its marginalisation as a rehabilitative strategy. Asking whether outdoor adventure serves a disciplinary role is one way of challenging its representation as traditional leisure, and its consequent marginalisation, because it suggests that it may be re-interpreted as a form of regulation rather than as providing fun, free-time and freedom. It will add to the plurality of discourses surrounding outdoor adventure, and problematise common-sense associations between outdoor adventure and traditional interpretations of leisure.

However, focusing only upon methods of discipline has problems because the methods of control stress discipline rather than agency. This still risks giving a structural account of power that neglects agency and would simply add to the social control side of the leisure studies debate. This is problematic because the control perspective has been criticised and because, by focussing on methods of control, the analysis would be limited to an established perspective and would not extend the debate over the role of leisure into new areas. There are other problems with a focus on disciplinary mechanisms. Foucault's later work suggests that regulation is not just achieved through these overt disciplines, but that individuals are governed more subtly, through self-regulation and individual ethics. To realise a picture of how individuals are controlled through outdoor adventure in a comprehensive Foucauldian sense then necessitates

examination, not only of overt disciplinary methods, but also of the covert tactics of self-regulation. The role of agency also needs to be investigated. A further reason why it is necessary to consider ethics lies in the aims of this study. In addition to examining the disciplinary elements of outdoor adventure as a preventive and rehabilitate tool, this thesis also asks whether, if outdoor adventure does perform a disciplinary role for young offenders, it is feasible to extrapolate this idea and in doing so consider outdoor adventure as disciplinary for participants who are not offenders? Could outdoor adventure *in general* (rather than as a specific instance of crime prevention or rehabilitation) serve disciplinary purposes? It should be noted that this thesis does not investigate whether outdoor adventure as leisure is disciplinary or not - that is beyond the scope of this study which examines the use of outdoor adventure within a rehabilitative context. But, by investigating whether, and how, outdoor adventure for crime prevention and rehabilitation is disciplinary, this thesis points to the legitimacy and importance of addressing the question of outdoor adventure's general disciplinary function, and suggests the possible means by which this can be theorised. I suggest that if outdoor adventure can be seen as generally regulatory, it would be unlikely to use such overt disciplinary mechanisms as those documented in *Discipline and Punish*. Because leisure has been associated with feelings of freedom and autonomy, it is unlikely that individuals would choose as a leisure option an outdoor adventure programme that is characterised purely by disciplinary techniques. If overt disciplinary methods are unlikely to be used, how can outdoor adventure, as a form of leisure (not with any associated aims of crime prevention or rehabilitation), be seen as disciplinary? Foucault's theories about agency provide a way of overcoming this dilemma. Foucault's ideas of ethics and governance suggest that regulation and governance proceed in ways which provide the person being governed with feelings of autonomy and self-determination. Thus discipline and agency are not opposites but partners, and governance can proceed through agency. Outdoor adventure can then be chosen for its apparent provision of autonomy and operate to govern and to regulate its participants (or more accurately teach participants how to govern and to regulate themselves). The next section examines how governance proceeds in these more subtle ways through the apparently free choices of individual actors.

Foucault did recognise the capacities of self-determination and resistance within *Discipline and Punish*, but his ideas of agency in these works were secondary to the disciplinary thesis. It was in his later work on individual ethics and governmentality that Foucault most clearly addressed the roles of agency and self-determination (Bevir 1999a, 1999b, Lacombe, 1996), and it is through these later works (Foucault 1982, Foucault 1988, Foucault 1990, Foucault 1991a, Foucault 1991c, Foucault 1991d) that the role of agency within outdoor adventure is best investigated.

### **3.2.6 METTRAY: A LINK BETWEEN THE DISCIPLINES AND ETHICS?**

The final section of *Discipline and Punish* (1991b: 293-297) provides a useful bridge between the disciplinary concepts of this book and the *self*-discipline emphasised in Foucault's ethical work. In 'The Carceral' (1991b: 293-308) Foucault argues that the epitome of disciplinary tactics could be seen in the Mettray institution: an agricultural colony for the reformation of young delinquents opened in France in 1840. There are three main reasons for this claim. First, Mettray was a concentration of many types of institutionalised discipline; second, it brought institutional discipline into everyday life; and third, it incited self-discipline. Together, these factors illustrate Foucault's concept of the carceral society, the underlying theme of *Discipline and Punish*: a society where all aspects of a person's life are (self)-disciplined. Foucault's summation of his ideas in *Discipline and Punish* clearly illustrates the importance of agency and the importance of dispersed disciplines, and can be used to link this analysis with his later work on ethics, which focuses on agency and self-discipline in individuals' day-to-day lives. This linkage is examined in more detail by examining Mettray's concentration of institutional types, its dispersed nature and its purposeful development and exploitation of self-discipline.

Foucault believed that Mettray embodied the panoply of disciplinary practices

identified in *Discipline and Punish*. Within this single colony individuals were disciplined through an array of institutional modes: the family; the army; the workshop; the school and the justice model. Foucault concluded that;

“it [Mettray] is the disciplinary form at its most extreme, the model in which were concentrated all the coercive technologies of behaviour”

(Foucault 1991b: 293).

Within Mettray, disciplinary techniques appeared omnipresent: all aspects of the youths' lives were affected by disciplinary influences.

Related to this point, Mettray aimed to bring discipline into the everyday. The colony was designed to reflect a village in which youths followed the normal routines of daily life (Driver 1994). The extensive disciplinary influences were therefore not isolated from normal social life, as in the prison, but were integrated into individuals' day to day living. Once again, then, Mettray illustrates the extensive reach of the disciplines and their effects on individuals' holistic existence.

Although disciplinary *influences* were unavoidable, disciplined *behaviour* was not externally enforced; as a consequence of the organisational design of Mettray, youths were often *self-disciplined*. In Mettray, youths were organised into 'families' under the supervision of two elder brothers and a family head. Each colonist's conduct was judged, recorded and ranked. Because this system invoked internal 'family' loyalty and fed competition between different families, self-discipline was encouraged (Driver 1994). Youths became self-disciplined, controlling their behaviour because of the desire to maximise their own family's ranking relative to the other families, and to 'not-let-their-family-down'. They were also externally disciplined through others in their family motivated by the same desires. Therefore, unlike the abstract Panoptic model, discipline was not enforced through an unknown, centralised observer, but through a decentralised network of known observers and through the self. Moreover, Mettray made the youths complicit in the operation of power because mutual surveillance made the *judged* also the *judges*.



Foucault's vision of the carceral – the disciplinary society – as exemplified by the Mettray institution is therefore a vision of extensive disciplinary influences through which individuals are externally forced, *and* internally motivated, to discipline themselves. Moreover, the vision of the carceral illustrates that the power relations within society can be diffuse and decentralised. There are clear links, then, between the disciplinary society as exemplified by Mettray and Foucault's work on ethics. Both analyse how individuals discipline themselves, and both consider discipline within the everyday context of people's lives. Although *Discipline and Punish* largely focused upon discreet institutions, the carceral vision and the discussion of Mettray illustrate Foucault's perception of the disciplined society as dispersed throughout society and diffused through all aspects of an individuals' lives, in this book as well as in his later work on ethics.

Before going on to look at Foucault's ethical work in more detail, there is a further point of interest in Foucault's discussion of Mettray. Clear parallels can be drawn between Mettray and modern day outdoor adventure courses. Driver (1994) argued that Mettray aimed to rehabilitate and morally train young offenders within a natural setting outwith the prison system - through agricultural labour and activities like 'working' on the replica ship which stood on the grounds of Mettray - and that it had the ultimate aim of installing self-discipline. Modern day outdoor adventure courses for young offenders and young people at risk are similar, having a rehabilitative aim, occurring in the countryside, and also encouraging self-discipline. Mettray was the exemplar of the nineteenth century disciplines; it will be interesting to see whether apparently similar programmes in today's Britain reflect Foucault's disciplines (and ethics) as well.

### **3.3 FOUCAULT'S ETHICS**

As argued above, Foucault's work on ethics is important because it is within these works that human agency is most explicitly theorised. It therefore provides a possible way to look at the experiences of autonomy and freedom



which, it has been argued, are important component of leisure activities. However, Foucault's ethics potentially provides more than a way to theorise agency in leisure (and thus stand as the opposite to social control as analysed through *Discipline and Punish*). Individual ethics has been identified as both a source of feelings of freedom *and* a means of governance, and the awareness of its regulatory application provides opportunities to investigate how human agency and social control may be linked. It is not simply the case that experiences of agency and social control co-exist within outdoor adventure, i.e. that aspects of discipline and individual ethics are both present within outdoor adventure programmes, although this will also be investigated. More subtly, Foucauldian ethics and ideas of governance enable the idea that agency and social control are partners to be explored.

The type of social control envisaged in governance is different to the disciplines in several ways: it is non-institutionalised and operates through society and the population rather than through institutions and authority figures, and it lacks legal, medical or judicial authority, but is embodied in everyone. It is therefore a much more diffuse form of social control. Its diffuse nature provides the potential for social control to have much broader effects than those theorised within institutionalised settings. Its non-institutional, non-legal-judicial qualities, and the situating of disciplines within everyone, will, it is argued, allow disciplinary influences to extend beyond 'deviant' populations into general society. Foucault's ethics is hence envisaged not simply as providing a bridge between agency and control, but also as providing a link between the role of outdoor adventure for young offenders and 'normal' participants. This suggests that the findings from the subject chosen for analysis in this study may not be seen as limited to outdoor adventure for young offenders, but may reflect more broadly the general practice and role of outdoor adventure.

The next section examines Foucault's ethics and ideas of governance, and the links between ideas of social control and agency, and shows how discipline proceeds not simply from institutional settings (overt discipline), but is found within the social body and in experts' influences over all people (normal and

deviant, institutionalised and non-institutionalised). This will be accomplished by briefly outlining Foucault's theories on individual ethics and their perceived utility as both a source of freedom and a means of governance, the latter being examined through work on governmentality. It will also examine and critique the way these theories have been applied, particularly in the analysis of neo-liberal modes of government through self-regulating, ethical individuals. These, it is argued, have tended to prioritise agency and neglect the role of discipline. In doing so this section will question whether the experience of agency that is so important to leisure can be integrated with ideas of a diffuse form of social control.

### **3.3.1 ETHICS**

Foucault's writings on ethics examine the relationship that a person has with him/herself and how they make themselves into subjects. In this work the subject is seen as a determining agent actively involved in the construction of their own subjectivity through practices or technologies of the self which:

“permit individuals to effect by their own means or, with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thought, conduct and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality”

(Foucault 1982 cited in Simons 1995: 34)

Foucault distinguishes four aspects of the self's relationship with the self (Foucault 1991c: 352-355). The first is the ethical substance(s). These are the factors that determine an individual's morality in any given society. The ethical substance changes between different societies; for example, Foucault argues that the modern day ethical substance is feelings, yet for Christians in the middle ages the ethical substance was desire. The mode of subjection is the second aspect. This 'is the way in which people are invited or incited to recognise their moral obligations' (Foucault 1991c: 352). The mode of subjection provides the principle and the logic that is used to persuade individuals within a society to conform with the ethical substance. The form this mode can take is again variable. It may, for example, be 'a divine law', 'a natural law', 'a cosmological order', 'a rational rule' or 'an attempt to give

one's existence the most beautiful form possible' (Foucault 1991c: 351). The third aspect is the self-forming activity, or asceticism, which is the process through which people effect change. Lastly, there is the telos, the ultimate goal of self-forming activity. This is the type of person the self-forming subject is trying to become and Foucault cites several illustrative examples; "shall we become pure, or immortal, or free, or masters of ourselves and so on." (Foucault 1991c: 355).

Foucault views ethics with ambivalence. He argues that they can constrain and discipline individuals (ethics makes up one of his three axes of power by which individuals are subjugated<sup>1</sup> : (Foucault 1991c: 336), yet he also envisages an individual's ethics (or more precisely aesthetics – the self-forming activity) as being a potential site of self-empowerment, a site where personal autonomy may be exercised. Foucault recognises that the practice of ethics is always socially and culturally influenced:

"[I]f I am now interested, in fact, in the way in which the subject constitutes himself in an active fashion by practices of the self, these practices are nevertheless not something that the individual invents by himself. They are patterns that he finds in his culture and which are proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social group"  
(Foucault 1988: 122).

However, he also suggests that these social and cultural influences, which delimit a person's options, actions and thoughts, can be challenged and transgressed through personal ethics, so that individuals are not simply active in their own subjugation, but active agents in their self-subjectification. That is, individuals are not only active in subjecting themselves to dominant power relationships, but can actively choose and create their own subjectivities, thereby challenging that power's domination over themselves. Whilst individuals cannot invent themselves outside of the reality of their existence, the existence they live within can be critiqued, violated and transgressed. Foucault illustrated this point through Baudelaire's Dandy, someone who resisted dominant power relationships

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<sup>1</sup> The others being knowledges (or epistemes) and one's relationship to rules and regulations (Foucault 1991c: 336).

through inverting social norms. The Dandy was someone who rejected his society's active search for a beautiful soul through the idle (as opposed to active) observation of others (rather than the self), and the beautification of their physical (instead of spiritual) selves. This critiqued and transgressed but did not escape social norms (Simons 1995: 77-78).

Active self-construction can provide opportunities to circumvent social discourses and transgress social norms, so that ethical work has the potential to be an exercise in freedom. Thus, alongside Foucault's recognition that ethics have been used as a medium for self-subjugation is a belief that they have been used in the past, and can provide opportunities in the future, for escaping the constraints that dominant discourse and norms place upon individual subjectivities. Although an individual's ethics have become associated with economic, social and political discourses, Foucault does not see this as a necessary link (Foucault 1991c: 359). Instead, he argues that the construction of the self *can* provide opportunities to construct oneself in ways that are determined by the personal choices of individuals, rather than the outcome of power relations, and which are experiences of freedom not of discipline:

“The idea of the *bios* as a material for an aesthetic piece of work is something that fascinates me. The idea also that ethics can be a very strong structure of existence, without any relation with the juridical per se, with an authoritarian system, with a disciplinary structure. All that is very interesting”  
(Foucault 1991c: 348).

In the *Care of the Self* (1990) Foucault analysed lifestyles in Classical and Hellenistic Greece to illustrate how individuals have practised this ‘aesthetics of existence’ in ethical work upon themselves which involved ‘care of the self’. Foucault argues that the aim of the free population in ancient Greece was to make their lives into works of art. This was achieved by gaining mastery over desires, so it was a person, not his<sup>2</sup> desires that controlled his life (desires were to be mastered in many aspects of life such as food, although the emphasis in *Care of the Self* is largely upon sexual

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<sup>2</sup> The ancient Greek society was patriarchal (Foucault 1991c: 344) so Foucault's analysis focused on men.

relations). Through this process, freedom was ensured by avoiding enslavement to one's self through one's desires (Gillan 1988). Foucault shows how self-mastery was used to moderate behaviour so that it conformed to the ideals that made a 'beautiful existence'; with regard to sexual behaviour, for example, fidelity to one's wife was deemed admirable (Foucault 1990). However, what is most important about this theory is not the *form* that the aesthetics of existence took (Foucault argues that we should not look to Greek ethics to provide a structure to modern day aesthetics (Foucault 1990: 343), but the fact that it is thought possible for an individual to *elect* to construct their selves in the manner of their choosing (in this case into a work of art), to have *control* over the production of their selves, and for this to be achieved as an *end in itself* rather than as a result of social, economic and political power relations.

Alongside this emancipatory role, personal ethics have been linked with the regulation of people and populations. For example, when ethics have been related to political, scientific, moral or other dominant discourses, they regulate behaviours through the social imposition of behavioural norms. In this context ethical work is normative as it prescribes the form of subjectification that people are influenced to undertake themselves:

"The aim of modern knowledges and technologies of the self is to foster the emergence of a positive self: one recognises and attaches oneself to a self made available through the categories of psychological and psychoanalytic science and though the normative disciplines consistent with them. Thus.....we become victims of our own self-knowledge. For Foucault, this is an event of supreme political importance because this victimisation fashions the potentially transgressive dimension of the person into but another element of the disciplinary matrix which **Discipline and Punish** had described as the carceral archipelago. If the struggle with this modern power-knowledge-subjectivity formation is a politics of ourselves, the key campaign in that struggle will be a new mode of fashioning an ethical way of being a self"

(Bernauer 1988: 63, original emphasis).

Individuals therefore do not always construct themselves creatively in ways that repudiate social norms, and provide opportunities for freedom, but instead consciously construct themselves in ways that conform to social discourses.

The mad man, for example, actively constructs himself as mad: it is an internal as well as external subjectification:

“The mad subject is not a non-free subject and the mentally ill constitutes himself a mad subject in relationship and in the presence of the one who declares him crazy”  
(Foucault 1988: 122 see also Simons 1995).

Foucault’s theorisation of ethics is clearly complex. Ethical work necessitates active and conscious human agency (in choosing to practice ethics, choosing the form ethics takes, and practising ethical work upon the self). However, ethics can and have been used for different purposes: either for escaping from social norms and the power relations that they embody, or alternatively accepting and conforming to these norms. Whilst ethics have the ability to offer experiences of freedom through individual choices, institutions have also utilised this technique to link individual ethics with external, social, economic, political and pedagogical determinations with the aim of creating self-regulating individuals. This is best illustrated through ideas of governmentality.

### **3.3.2 GOVERNMENTALITY**

The regulatory use of ethics has been most clearly conceptualised by Foucault in his theories on governmentality (Foucault 1991a). Here Foucault traces the development of techniques of government from a time when they were dominated by a sovereign who imposed his will on the populace, often through violence and force, to contemporary governance which proceeds through self-regulation of the populace. Foucault argues that modern forms of governance can be differentiated from feudal and medieval forms through both the *style* and the *target* of governance. Early states were governed by a sovereign who concentrated on controlling and defending territories through force, or slightly later through the model of the family, with government taking care of the wealth and productivity of the family. This is contrasted with recent attempts to govern through the *management* of their *populations*. Instruments of government have changed from force and laws to strategy and tactic, and are now imposed not by a single sovereign or state but by a variety of institutions



and bodies which govern, or manage, particular areas of life or people.

Government has become diffused rather than concentrated in a single entity.

As Miller and Rose (1990: 3) have argued:

“it refuses the reduction of political power to the actions of a state, the latter construed as a relatively coherent and calculating political subject. Instead of viewing rule in terms of a state that extends its sway throughout society by means of a ramifying apparatus of control, the notion of government draws attention to the diversity of forces and groups that have, in heterogeneous ways, sought to regulate the lives of individuals and the conditions within national territories in pursuit of various goals.”

Governance, then, is situated throughout the social body in various agencies which appeal to different areas and interests. There is therefore no necessary unity of purpose (beyond governing) to unite these various governing bodies, no single unifying principle, meaning that government has become fragmented and diffused. Another change is that power is no longer imposed by force, but proceeds through self-regulating individuals, as governing bodies influence individuals to ‘choose’ courses of action which reflect those governing bodies’ desires and interests.

The object as well as the methods of government has changed. Government is no longer primarily concerned with territorial control but with the management of population to ensure ends ‘which are convenient for each thing to be governed’ (Foucault: 1991a: 95). The objectives of government become pluralised and reflect the welfare of the population rather than the autocratic desires of a sovereign. Thus ‘population’ becomes both the apparent outcome and the instrument of government:

“Population comes to appear above all else as the ultimate end of the government. In contrast to sovereignty, government has as its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health etc.; and the means that the government uses to attain those ends are themselves all in some sense immanent to the population: it is the population itself on which the government will act, either directly through large scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make possible without the full awareness of the population the stimulation of birth rate, the directing of the flow of population into certain regions or activities etc. The population now represents



more the end of government than the power of the sovereign: the population is the subject of needs, of aspirations, but it is also the object in the hands of the government, aware vis-à-vis the government, of what it wants, but ignorant of what is being done to it" (Foucault 1991a: 100).

Government, Foucault argues, proceeds through individuals who govern themselves, but, although they act as agents and apparently benefit from this governance (it is, after all, the population's welfare that is the aim of governance), the population is clearly still influenced by power relations. It is, for example, the governing institutions that determine what the population wants, and it is the government that controls the population 'directly' or 'indirectly'. Foucault recognises agency in governance, then, but it is an agency that operates as a function of power's operation, rather than producing experiences of freedom. This was recognised by Garland (1997: 196-197), who warned that Foucault's description of governmentality 'governing through freedom' was misleading, and that governance proceeds through agency (i.e. in governance people do not have the capacity to act without constraints - freedom - but they do have the capacity to act - and therefore are agents).

Foucault unfortunately did not write much on governance, and what he did write was historical in nature (see Garland 1997). Other Foucauldian scholars have, however, extended his theories of governance into contemporary life. However, these interpretations appear to emphasise the freedom associated with agency, and pay less attention to the idea of subjection intrinsic to Foucault's ideas of governance.

Rose and Miller are two theorists who have extended this theory into contemporary techniques of governance (Miller and Rose 1992, Rose 1990, Rose 1992, Rose and Miller 1992). They argue that ethics have become an important tactic of governance as they constitute the means through which populations govern themselves. Governance, Rose and Miller argue, is not imposed upon individuals, but proceeds through the choices of individuals who exercise a regulated freedom. This is what is termed being 'governed at a distance' (Rose 1982:159). Rejecting the traditional oppositions between the state and the individual, the public and the private, Rose and Miller (1992:

174) argue that 'personal autonomy is not the antithesis of political power, but a key term in its experience, the more so because most individuals are not merely the subjects of power but play a part in its operations'. This 'government at a distance' proceeds through individual decisions that simultaneously address an individual's needs and desires *and* political aims and objectives. This dual effect is enabled by two distinct forms of knowledge. First, are 'expert knowledge systems'. These direct individual decision-making by providing the information on which such choices are made. As Rose (1982) makes clear, decisions are not made in a cultural social vacuum but people act on themselves in relation to what is constructed as true and false, good and bad, permitted and forbidden, desirable and undesirable. There exists, then, a *regulated* space of freedom in which 'freely' made decisions are made in the context of certain pervasive knowledges, created and diffused by experts or professionals within particular fields such as medicine, the economy, investment, child rearing and education. Rose claims that such expert systems are distinct from the political state, and this neutrality alongside their expert status accords truth and legitimacy to expert knowledges. This position allows expert systems to act as mediators, or, in Rose and Miller's (1992) terminology, to translate the wishes of the state into the wishes of the individuals through a 'double alliance' (Rose and Miller 1992: 188). By focusing their attention on problems that the state identifies, expert systems ally themselves with political power and address the aims and problems recognised by the state. These problems are then 'translated' into knowledge which impacts upon the desires of the populace, making them a powerful influence upon individual decision-making. An example could be that political concern for a healthy population which is translated by expert systems into the benefits of a healthy lifestyle for the individual, which then encourages individuals to choose to become healthier. Expert systems therefore address the problems and wishes of the population and offer the means by which people can become happier, healthier, more efficient and more financially secure. Through the double role of expertise, the choices that individuals make may become aligned with the aims of government. This is achieved not by force or imposition, but through the regulated autonomy of individuals

making choices which comply with political desires and expert system knowledges. However, Miller and Rose (1990) stress that this should not be mistaken for a functionalist interpretation creating an all-pervasive form of control. Expert systems can and do challenge the functioning of government as well as acting as its tool. Moreover, the multiplicity of expert systems means that competing discourses may propose different answers for the same political problem, and solutions for different problems may compete and contradict each other or have unplanned consequences. Lastly, the acceptance of expert discourse is always an individual choice and can therefore never be guaranteed (see also Nettleton 1997: 219-220).

The second type of knowledge needed is of a particular kind of subject. Reliance on self-governance necessitates the existence and operation of autonomous actors who actively make free decisions through which government proceeds. Dean (1995), investigating the governance of 'job seekers,' for example, has discussed how what he terms 'governmental-ethical practices' in which government, proceeding through ethical practices, not only accomplishes the aims of government but creates particular subjectivities:

"contemporary practices of income support can be understood as ones concerned with the formation and reformation of the capacities and attributes of the self. In this respect, such practices are practices of self-formation in that they seek to define the proper and legitimate orientation and conduct of those who claim support. In short, as well as providing financial assistance for those excluded from employment, and attempting to enhance their job prospects, such practices seek to shape the needs, aspirations, capacities and attitudes of the individuals who come within their ken. This however is not the entire story. The practices also engage 'clients' in their own government by demanding their complicity in these practices of self-shaping, self-cultivation, and self-presentation. These practices become involved not simply in governmental practices but in ethical practices and what emerges is a kind of governmental sponsorship and resourcing of certain kinds of ethical and aesthetic practice"  
(Dean 1995: 567).

Miller and Rose (1990) also refer to political rationalities which justify modes of governance and argue that a political rationality of human autonomy exists. They recognise autonomy as a discourse which has been created rather than

an essentialist conception of humanity, and claim that it is used to justify liberal democratic modes of governance that (supposedly) reduce intervention and allow individuals to make their own decisions. Elsewhere Rose and Miller (1992: 174) recognise that the autonomous subject is not simply a rationality but a necessity, as they argue that in governance:

“[P]ower is not so much a matter of imposing constraints upon citizens as of ‘making up’ citizens capable of bearing a kind of regulated freedom.”

The creation of the subject thus:

“emphasise[s] the ways in which our authorities, in pursuing social objectives have found it necessary and desirable to educate us in the techniques for governing ourselves. The modern self has been constructed through this web of practices of power, meaning and virtue that have addressed it”  
(Rose 1990: 213).

This technique of government has as its pre-requisite ethical actors who are externally influenced to make the decisions they make and who are capable of making ‘rational’ decisions in the light of expert advice. This regulated autonomous self is very different from the liberal conception of the autonomous self, which posits autonomy as an essentialist, intrinsic human right, because this autonomous subject is manufactured by expert discourses as a necessary tool for the operation of techniques of self-government.

This conception of governance through self-regulating individuals has been empirically analysed by many writers who have explored the operation of political power within neo-liberalism, or the advanced liberal rationalities of governance, that claim to dominate contemporary political power in the West. One of the main fields where this has been done is in health care.

Peterson (1997: 194) has argued that self-governance is becoming the norm. Rather than simply following rules, people are made more and more responsible for taking care of themselves. Autonomy and choice are thus perceived to be increasing:

“[n]eo-liberalism is a form of self rule which involves creating a sphere of freedom for subjects so that they are able to exercise a regulated autonomy. While both early liberal and neo-liberal rationality’s forms of government have been premised upon the self conduct of the governed themselves, neo-liberal rationality is

linked to a form of rational self rule that is not so much a given of human nature (i.e. the interested rational ego) as a consciously contrived style of conduct....neo-liberal rationality emphasises the entrepreneurial individual, endowed with freedom and autonomy, and the capacity to properly care for him or herself.”

Peterson (1997) illustrates his argument with changes to the health care system, arguing that public health policy has been reformulated from state provision into the professional identification of risks (provided by expert systems) which the individual then has the responsibility to negotiate and to avoid. A person's health is under their own control so that the individual is literally taking 'care of themselves'. Similar work from a medical perspective includes that of Bunton (1997), who identifies governance through self regulation in three changes to the welfare state. Health care has been pluralised (traditional forms of health care are increasingly critiqued, challenged and complemented by others so that complementary medicine and new sites of medical care are established; for example, medical care is no longer restricted to the doctor's surgery or the hospital but effects and impinges on people's lifestyles and environment). Second, health care has been commodified and is increasingly made available to the public through the market. These two changes cause modifications to the health seeking individual who is necessarily changed from a docile recipient of care to an active agent who must choose how to care for themselves from the range of options available. Nettleton (1997), in an analysis of *Good Housekeeping*, also examines how individuals are taught how to care for their health through advertisements.

These interpretations suggest that direct state power is being replaced or supplemented by self-regulating individuals who choose from a variety of expert discourses (in issues of health, employment, education etc) those options which best fit their needs and desires. Choices are often based on information that is aligned to the aims and objectives of political power (although not deterministically so), meaning that the self-regulation of individuals seeking to maximise their own healthiness and happiness also achieves political objectives. In this way the technique of self-governance combines political accomplishments with the exercise of a regulated freedom.

This is a very useful conception of power for this thesis because it links social regulation with feelings of freedom of choice. Thus, it is a potential 'bridge' between the two poles of leisure theory - the conception of leisure as a locus for freedom, self expression and self determination, and, its opposite, the conception that leisure is a locus of social control. Problematising the perceived opposition between freedom and control refutes this polar distinction by recognising possibilities for their co-existence. This Foucauldian approach therefore opens up an alternative way of conceptualising leisure which unifies the two dominant critiques of residual leisure into a coherent whole. Moreover, this idea of governance problematises the very notion of a residual leisure subsidiary to 'serious' life. This leisure was characterised by the rhetoric of free choice, but, because free choice can be re-interpreted as a mode of governance, leisure can not be isolated from those 'serious' parts of life in the way that traditional leisure theorists have attempted to argue. The exercise of free-choice may indeed also be simultaneously an exercise in governance.

Although useful, this theory of governance, as it stands, pays little attention to the role of discipline within governance. This is problematic on an abstract theoretical level and on an instrumental one. On the theoretical side, the absence of any explicit recognition of disciplinary techniques is problematic because Foucault's own conception of ethics, intrinsic to the idea of governance summarised above, recognised the importance of disciplinary mechanisms alongside self-regulation and truth discourses, both theoretically and in his substantive work, *Care of the Self*. Governmentality clearly recognises the role of discourses (expert systems) and ethical work (self-regulation), but discipline appears to have been neglected. On the instrumental side this study examines the role of leisure through its institutionalised use to rehabilitate young offenders because this is conceived as a meeting ground where discipline (imposed as a consequence of criminal actions) and self-regulation merge. An investigation of its disciplinary elements, as well as of indirect forms of governance, is therefore conceived as important. The following section analyses Foucault's theories to investigate whether the idea of governance as it



stands does indeed portray a partial picture of ethics, and, if so, whether this can this be extended to recognise and to include the role of discipline.

### 3.3.3 THE ROLE OF DISCIPLINE WITHIN GOVERNMENTALITY

Foucault's conception of power operates along three axis: discourses of truth; ethical work of the subject, and discipline. He says:

“[M]y work has dealt with three modes of objectification which transform human beings into subjects. The first are the modes of enquiry which try to give themselves the status of sciences; for example, the objectivizing[sic] of the speaking subject in *grammaire générale*, philology and linguistics. Or again, in this first mode, the objectivizing of the productive subject, the subject who labours, in the analysis of wealth and economics. Or, a third example, the objectivizing of the sheer fact of being alive in natural history or biology. In the second part of my work, I have studied the objectivizing of the subject in what I shall call ‘dividing’ practices. The subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others. This process objectifies him. Examples are the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy, the criminals and the ‘good boys’. Finally I have sought to study - it is my current work - the way a human being turns himself into a subject. For example, I have chosen the domain of sexuality - how men have learned to recognise themselves as subjects of ‘sexuality’”  
(Foucault 1982: 777-8).

Theories of governmentality clearly utilise the first two of these three axes. Emphasis on expert systems show how the decisions that self-regulating individuals make are influenced through the truth status accorded to expert discourses (because of their specialisation and neutrality). The freedom to choose actions in the light of these discourses of truth is a clear recognition of the ethical practices that the individuals practise upon themselves. The role of discipline is, however, less evident in the conceptions of governmentality analysed above. This section looks closely at the role of discipline. Yet, the argument should not be misread as claiming that government is only disciplinary; there is obviously much ethical work occurring, and even in the operation of disciplines there is room for agency to resist. However, within governance there are clear disciplinary elements operating which need to be explicitly recognised.



Some writers on governmentality have noted what appears to be the presence of disciplinary tactics. Unlike the emphasis given to expert discourses (truth discourses) by Rose and Miller (1992), and to ethical work by Dean (1995), these remain implicit or are included as interesting asides. They are never examined as ‘disciplinary’ in a Foucauldian sense, and their role within governance is never clearly articulated. Rose (1988) makes some allusions to Foucault’s ideas of discipline, but he fails to examine their relevance to techniques of government adequately. In ‘Governing the Enterprising Self’ (1988), for example, he recognises the ‘institutional’ dimension of Foucault’s concept of government, which embodies technologies that orchestrate activities of the selves to produce docile and productive bodies, but he fails to relate this adequately to his own conception of governance which gives primacy to ethics and truth discourse. Elsewhere he touches on disciplinary techniques that are operational within governmentally, for example the role of judgement as a tool of normalisation, but again fails to make explicit links between this and his concept of government:

“The self is a subjective being, it is to aspire to autonomy, it is to strive for personal fulfilment in its earthly life, it is to interpret its reality and destiny as matters of individual responsibility, it is to find meaning in existence by shaping its life through acts of choice. These ways of thinking about the self, and *these ways of judging them*, are linked to certain ways of acting selves”

(Rose 1992: 142 , emphasis added).

Dean (1995: 574) also touches on the role of discipline, but does not examine it in detail. Referring to individuals who break the contract between job-seekers and the government that provides allowances, he notes that:

“failing an activity test, breaking an agreement, failing to respond to correspondence or to report for an interview incurs cancellation of the allowance for varying periods.”

However, he does not identify this as a disciplinary technique in the Foucauldian sense, nor does he examine the role of these sanctions within governance. This produces a picture of governance which appears to prioritise the ethical work of the agent, and the influence of ‘truth’, over disciplinary influences, a partial picture which ignores one of Foucault’s theoretical axes of power. It also ignores the findings of Foucault’s empirical studies of self-

regulation in *Care of the Self*, which recognised the operation and role of disciplinary techniques. *Care of the Self* is examined below to show that while governance does proceed through personal ethics practised within the context of discourses of truth, it also uses disciplinary tactics. I do not suggest that the entire panoply of disciplinary tactics is present within self-regulation (control of bodies, times etc): the absence of authoritative control and of an institutional setting prevent this. However, some of the disciplinary mechanisms Foucault identifies in *Discipline and Punish* are seen to exert their influence in governmentality. Three disciplinary strategies are identified as playing an important role in self-regulation: observation, judgement and penalties (and rewards).

Foucault's account of the Greek practice of care of the self placed importance upon observation and consequent criticism or praise from others. Individual attainment of self-mastery was observed, judged against social codes of behaviour (the truth discourse), and penalties were used to punish those who 'failed' to live up to the standards expected of those who truly were masters of themselves. These penalties could take the form of social stigma - individuals who made themselves ill though too much sexual activity were 'considered ugly; they had a bad reputation' (Foucault 1991c: 349). Alternatively, and more seriously, the penalty could mean exclusion from public office because self mastery was construed as a prerequisite for, and a sign of, the ability to effectively master others, both in one's own eyes and those of others:

"Socrates shows the ambitious young man that it is quite presumptuous of him to want to take charge of the city, manage its affairs, and enter into competitions with the Kings of Sparta or the rulers of Persia, *if he has not first learned that which it is necessary to know in order to govern: that he must first attend to himself*"  
(Foucault 1990: 44, emphasis added).

In Foucault's conception of governance through ethics, there is a clear role for disciplinary techniques alongside personal ethics and truth discourses. Choices are made, not only in relation to what is constructed as the true, the proper, the most healthy, but also in relation to how others observing you judge your actions (or, as in the true Panopticon, how you envisage that others judge you).

Ethical choices are clearly made in the context of the truth discourse *and* in the light of potential consequences resulting from others' observation and judgement, illustrating the interrelationships between ethics, disciplines and truth, and the need to recognise how they operate together as a triad. The disciplines do not determine choices, but can exert influences over decision making that must be explicitly acknowledged.

The disciplinary mechanisms within governance differ slightly from their portrayal in *Discipline and Punish* because they have diffused out from institutional confinement (the school, the prison, the army and so on) into the wider society. The techniques of observation and judgement emanate from, and are perceived by self-regulating subjects to emanate from, the public (by which I mean everyone around who can potentially observe and judge the subject). This is a generalised, rather than institutionalised, discipline, and is a very important component of self-regulation and governance because it creates a persistent, omnipresent disciplinary technique, not one confined to institutional settings.

This point is illustrated very clearly by Colwell (1994) and Eske et al (1998), who have used Foucault's conception of disciplinary techniques to highlight how apparently self-governing individuals have their 'free choices' curtailed through the influences of discourse of truth *and* through disciplinary observation, judgement and normalisation within non-institutionalised, social contexts. These studies are also important because they situate Foucault's abstract theory and historical analyses of self-governance within contemporary situations and, in so doing, illustrate the very important role of discipline within modern day self-governance.

Colwell (1994) and Eskes et al (1998) successfully integrate the disciplinary mechanisms in *Discipline and Punish* with ethics, revealing how the former are extended and intensified by the latter. Colwell's (1994) article is an evaluation of the relationship of Foucault's disciplinary thesis in *Discipline and Punish* and his work on ethics. She believes that the subject of the latter is a continuation of the determined and disciplined subject introduced in *Discipline and Punish* –

it is not a move towards self-subjection but towards self-subjugation, because, she argues, the subjects in *Discipline and Punish* and *Care of the Self* are both produced by their responses to constraints. In *Care of the Self* these constraints may be in the form of relations to the self which are determined by social codes of conduct (or in Rose's terminology the influence of expert systems) rather than institutional rules or regulations, but this relationship to the self remains influenced by observation and consequent judgement of the level of correspondence between observed behaviours and expected social norms. She illustrates her argument with Foucault's example of men acting against the established code of conduct of sexual relations with boys. If a person broke this code, he was not a law breaker but he *was* contemptible in the eyes of his peers, and as this was a failure of the self-mastery needed to rule others it made him unfit for office (Colwell 1994: 64). Discipline therefore proceeds by establishing standards of behaviour that can be social as well as legal (codes of conduct, the aesthetic principles or political-juridical regulations) and are enforced by the threat of punishments that can also be either social or legal. Colwell (1994: 66) argues;

“...the subject is constituted/constitutes itself within a system of constraints, whether they be described as disciplinary or aesthetic. For example in *Discipline and Punish*, the subject is also active in the constitution of itself. It constitutes itself as the subject of legitimate/illegitimate wills, drives and intentions. But it does so within a field of power knowledge, over which it has little if any control, that categorises those wills, drives intentions as legitimate/illegitimate and categorises the subject as the seat of those structures. Likewise the subject in *The Use of Pleasure* actively constitutes itself within a field that categorises the beautiful and the ugly as well as categorising that subject as that which has these characteristics. The sole difference lies within the relative flexibility of these fields.”

This interpretation of the relationship between *Discipline and Punish* and *Care of the Self* argues that Foucault's ethics are an evolution of disciplinary techniques. Indeed, Colwell (1994: 57) views the *Care of the Self* as a very necessary development in Foucault's philosophy, since the idea of discipline in *Discipline and Punish* is under-theorised because it centralises observation and judgement of the norm into institutional settings, precluding an understanding of its diffuse nature. She argues that;

“the ideal, and the real structure of this gaze is not centralised but fragmented, disseminated throughout the “social body,” arising from a multiplicity of points, surrounding the body with the invisibility of its indeterminate positionality.”

Panoptic surveillance therefore operates not from a single source, but from many sources distributed through society. Individuals therefore have continually to behave as if they were being watched, not only when there is an obvious observer. The strategies and techniques that Foucault theorised in *Discipline and Punish* operate in a confined institutional setting where there is an awareness of the possibility of observation and judgement (although he argues that the disciplinary society, or the carceral archipelago, is present throughout society, the examples he provides in *Discipline and Punish* are of *institutions* within society: the hospital, the barracks, the school and so on). However, power is not confined to institutional settings. As Foucault himself recognises, power is not confined to specific localities but is a network of relationships that extends throughout the social body and cannot be tied to specific places (Foucault 1982).

Outside of the institutions, power is still enforced by the observation and judgement of those around us. For an empirical illustration of this, Colwell (1994: 56-57) drew on the work of Barkty (1988) who applied Foucault’s theory to contemporary gender performativity:

“How we exhibit and perceive our sexual persona, is a function of disciplinary technologies that constrain the body to adopt a specific size and shape, a specific “repertoire of gestures, postures and movements”, to display itself as an ornamented surface (obeying a highly coded rhetoric of ornamentation), that is the behaviour according to a norm of gender specific behaviour.....Barkty’s argument is that relations of power inscribe a “panoptical male connoisseur” in the consciousness of women, but *the key point here is that these relations of power are not only the function of the institutional authorities but rather arise between individuals themselves. Everyone one encounters, male and female alike, is an observer, an inspector of one’s gender, of one’s sexuality, everyone has the power to judge normality*” (1994:56-57, emphasis added).

Everyone in society observes, judges and has the power to punish, perhaps not by jail but by holding and/or proclaiming negative views of others and

ourselves and enforcing consequent social penalties. The principle of the Panoptic tower is within everyone, and through self-subjection to dominant ideas of what we 'ought' to be like, enforced by others (and our own) judgement of ourselves, ethical transformation involves disciplinary influences. Ethics can be conceived as not only a relationship of the self to the self, but as the judgement the subject makes about the self's relationship to social ideals.

A second, substantive application of Foucault's theories which emphasises how power disciplines individuals into identities that are inscribed by discourses is Eskes et al's (1998) article 'Foucault, Marcuse and Women's Fitness Texts'. Eskes et al (1998) use Foucault's ideas of normalisation and surveillance from *Discipline and Punish* to examine how, within fitness magazines, women's fitness is constructed as an empowering activity, but these representations actually reproduce male hegemonic power. While using feminist discourses of female empowerment, female fitness magazines function to produce the ideal female form that the masculine gaze admires and demands, and to produce the masculine vision of beauty. This has several consequences: it brings men pleasure while simultaneously inflicting pain on women (through exercise and diets); it produces near impossible expectations on appearances which result in low self-confidence and low self-esteem among women who 'fail' to achieve such standards, dis-empowering rather than empowering women; it emphasises the (perceived) importance of appealing to and producing the desired objects of the masculine gaze, and, ironically, it can make women physically weaker (through promoting over-exercise and eating disorders). All of these effects serve to subjugate rather than emancipate women.

Although Eskes et al (1998) claim to limit their theoretical stance to the technique of panoptic surveillance in *Discipline and Punish*, there is some evidence of self-regulation. Women 'choose' to become fit, and are responsible themselves for the changes made to their body, which occur through their own actions. However, women's relationship (and actions) to themselves in terms of fitness is not really freely chosen but is imposed by societal expectations in everyday life. Thus Eskes et al (1998: 320) ask;



“is it truly women’s own initiative that compels them to partake in beauty practices or the fact they somehow feel that they are being watched, judged and sanctioned for their appearance?”

The techniques of self-government therefore proceed through a triad: the ethical self, the discourses of truth and disciplinary techniques. Explicit recognition of the disciplines does not substantially alter the theory of governance through self-regulation but broadens it. What I mean by this is that individuals remain self-regulating - responsible for the decisions they make - but the context in which these decisions are decided must be widened to include social observation, judgement and its effects (which may be perceived or real), alongside expert and truth discourses.

An awareness of disciplinary techniques brings to the forefront not only the processes by which governance proceeds, but the effects of governance upon individuals’ subjectivities, particularly the subjectivities of those who fail to be adequately self-regulating. It has been recognised that ethical work presupposes an active rational actor. This is the ‘norm’ which has been created through governmentality, and, as an accompaniment to ‘normality’, ‘deviants’ - non-ethical actors - have been simultaneously created. It is recognised that the self-regulating individual is a construct not an essential feature of humanity. Some individuals will therefore fall short of the self-governing ideal, make choices which contradict the expert system’s truths (or fail to make choices at all) and be critically judged as deviating from the norm. As Peterson (1997: 198) claimed;

“[I]ndividuals whose conduct is deemed contrary to the pursuit of a ‘risk-free’ existence are likely to be seen, and see themselves, as lacking self-control, and as therefore not fulfilling their duties as fully autonomous, responsible citizens”.

The disciplinary strategies of observation and judgement, both internal and external, are here recognised as intrinsic to governance. Effects can be practical as well as social and mental. A person, for example, may choose to smoke fifty cigarettes a day, eat a fry-up every morning and take no exercise, or they may choose not to insure themselves against illness and old age. In a society orientated towards self-regulation, these individuals will suffer detrimental consequence for failing to take care of themselves. People

suffering from ill health resulting from smoking may face social condemnation for not taking adequate care of themselves; those who have not taken out an occupational or private pension must survive on an increasingly meagre state pension. Though these effects are not disciplinary in a judicial or legal framework, they are penalties associated with non-conformity applied after observation and judgement. Rose (1992: 252-253) recognises that those people who fail to be enterprising, that is to take active rational decisions, are not simply observed and judged, but that attempts are made at normalisation through therapy:

“therapeutics, here, impels the subject to ‘work’ on itself and to assume responsibility for its life. It seeks to equip the self with a set of tools for the management of its affairs, so that it can take control of its undertakings, define its goals, and plan to achieve its needs through its own powers.”

Rose (1992: 159) goes on to argue that if this does not work individuals are ‘governed in other harsher ways’ (perhaps a euphemism for overtly disciplinary tactics) or ‘abandoned’ (suggestive of social exclusion - a recognised disciplinary tactic). These quotations illustrate the role of discipline very clearly, and the potential outcomes (social penalty, physical penalties, the label of the ‘deviant’ and attempts at normalisation) for individuals who do not comply with expert systems. It shows that individuals are disciplined not simply in terms of the specific choices they make, with regard to health, security, employment and so on, but are disciplined into the very identity of a self-regulating subject.

Disciplinary influences are therefore present within ethics and governance, alongside the influence of discourses of truth and individual ethics. As has been stated, recognition of the disciplinary elements within self-regulation does not alter the theory of techniques of governance, rather it expands it. Ethics, then, can enable governance and regulation to proceed whilst enabling experiences of autonomy to be felt. It is a subtle form of regulation that proceeds through the self-conscious decisions of human actors, but the ability to make choices, and the particular choices made, are influenced by discourses of truth (expert discourses) and disciplinary mechanisms. These disciplinary mechanisms

operate on society as a whole, not simply on 'deviant' or institutionalised subjects.

### **3.4 A PROGRESSION IN LEISURE AND GOVERNMENTALITY THEORY?**

This interpretation of ethics shares similarities with the ideas of rational recreation (Rojek 1989,1993) and moral regulation (Clarke and Critcher 1985) discussed in the previous chapter. These argued that governance proceeds - in leisure - through the choices of independent actors, but adds that those choices are influenced by the availability of only certain (desired and approved) types of resources (for example, parks and swimming pools), and by dominant discourses of what is right and desirable (for example, of which leisure activities are good and which are dangerous).

Although the rational recreation and moral regulation approaches have been shown to be useful because they integrate experience of autonomy and control, they have also been shown to have drawbacks - the assumption of a united and dominant class that imposes its influence on an equally united and compliant majority, and inadequate theorisation of the actual mechanics of control.

Foucault's interpretation moves beyond these problems. Foucault does not assume the existence of a dominant class whose interests power represents and serves. This idea of power is, in fact, the antithesis of Foucault's own conception in which power is envisaged as power *relationships*, a conception which empowers those on who power operates but acknowledges the ever-present potential for resistance. Furthermore, governance cannot be perceived as simply serving the interests of one group as governance is seen to proceed through various strategies, tactics, sites and agencies (of which the state is just one). Power therefore cannot be reduced to the homogenous influence of one dominant interest. Lastly, Foucault's theory provides a framework for the analysis of the process of leisure control. Foucault's fourfold conception of the ethical substance, the mode of subjection, aesthetics and telos makes possible an analysis of how people come to act on themselves in particular

ways; the way people act on themselves; how they come to see certain aspects of their behaviour as a problem and in need of ethical work; and the aim of the practice of care of the self. Moreover, this framework appears adaptable enough to understand the processes of self-regulation in many different societies and for many different objects of governance: it has, for example, been used to study sexual practices in ancient Greece (Foucault 1990) and welfare reform in contemporary Australia (Dean 1995). Governance therefore appears to be a theory which is open and adaptable enough to recognise the role of self-regulation in different societies and cultures, whilst still being aware of the specificity of those cultures and their different influences.

A Foucauldian subject has a further advantage over rational recreation and moral regulation because it goes beyond a simple analysis of control and provides opportunities to examine how different subjectivities are created through government. Rojek theorised how control proceeds through leisure, but did not examine how this impacted participants beyond recognising leisure's attempts to inculcate bourgeois practices of self-discipline in leisure participants (Rojek 1993). An analysis of *Discipline and Punish* and governmentality indicates how subjectivities are formed as a consequence of control: in governmentality, the image of autonomous actors is propagated; in *Discipline and Punish*, delinquents are formed. It will be interesting to see what specific kinds of subjectivities emerge through the application of a Foucauldian approach to outdoor adventure, and whether the kind of subjectivities identified here (autonomous agent and delinquent) can co-exist if outdoor adventure does utilise both disciplinary and governmental regulation.

A Foucauldian approach is particularly useful for this study because it links agency with control and examines how regulation can produce experiences of autonomy via its operation through apparently independently made decisions. It recognises the dispersed methods and sites of governance, and consequently the variety of discourses which influence governance, and it negates any conception of power serving the interest of a unified class or interest. It acknowledges the possibilities of resistance, and refutes the idea that power

can be exercised on a homogenous and compliant populace. Lastly, it offers a holistic vision through which to examine social control. Many different practices in different societies and cultures can be envisaged as governing through self-regulating individuals. Self-governance proceeds from a multitude of settings. However, until now, there have been few attempts to examine self-regulation and governance through leisure. An awareness of how governance utilises experiences of autonomy to govern and to regulate, and how in leisure activities both control and autonomy are recognised, points to this as a 'gap' in the research. Foucault's ethics can be used to investigate the social role of leisure, to ascertain whether it is used as a means to govern the population. Moreover, an investigation of leisure also has the advantage of complementing the already existing investigations into Foucault's usefulness as a tool for understanding governance; and, in this sense, it clearly fills a gap in the research.

This approach also addresses problems in governmentality research. There have, as yet, been few studies examining penal programmes through Foucault's theories of governmentality (Garland 1997). As pointed out earlier, most interest in governmentality has come from the field of health care. It could be that penal programmes are seen as disciplinary, and, because discipline has been under-theorised within governmentality, the links between governmentality and penal programmes have not been made - these may be seen as examples of discipline, not governance. Alternatively it could be that the emphasis on 'freedom' within liberal ideas of governmentality seem an inappropriate way to look at programmes aiming to punish and to correct. Whatever the reason, penal programmes appear under-researched within governmentality studies, and this will be, at least partly, redressed through this thesis.

In a paper reviewing governmentality studies and assessing their value for understanding criminality, Garland (1997), whilst valuing this approach as a insightful way to conceptualise modern forms of control, criticised governmentality works for several reasons. First and as has already been mentioned, writers on governmentality have tended to emphasise freedom

and autonomy, instead of agency. This is dangerous, as it may lead to the acceptance of an apparently enlightened form of governance, instead of directing attention to the fact that liberal governance is another form of domination. As Garland (1997: 197) claims:

“Analysis must eschew the rhetorical tendency to talk about ‘freedom’ in oversimplified ways, not least because it tends to repeat the propaganda of the advocates of liberal reform”.

This thesis’s proposed theoretical approach, which explicitly seeks the role of discipline *and* governmentality and discipline *in* governmentality, may give empirical support to this theoretical argument and clarify the role of liberal governance, which seemingly provides experiences of freedom but which is argued to be a form of control. Furthermore, this focus on discipline is argued to provide an approach to governmentality which recognises the value of the three axes of subjectification recognised by Foucault, overcoming the apparent neglect of discipline in research on governmentality.

A second criticism raised by Garland against governmentality studies concerned their over-dependence upon ‘ideal types’ (1997: 1999). By this Garland was referring to the tendency to study abstracted ideas of governance and control rather than their actual practice - for example, Dean (1995) studied the literature and aims of the shift from unemployment benefits to job seekers allowance, but not its actual implementation. In understanding contemporary methods of governance, Garland (1997: 200) argues it is necessary to examine how programmes operate in the real world because the practice of government is never a direct realisation of the ideal:

“If we want to understand what is happening in the penal field, we need to study the pragmatics of programme-implementation and the process through which rationalities come to be realised (or not) by actual practices”.

By focusing on a study of ‘real’ outdoor adventure programmes and the workers and social workers associated with them, the theoretical ideas of governmentality that have been developed will be grounded in a real life analysis that can investigate both the aims of governance and its practical implementation.



The last point made by Garland which this study addresses is a concern that governmentality studies *always* explain features of modern day society in terms of governmentality - that is rational, knowledge-based approaches which have a deliberate aim of control. Garland claims instead that many ideas and policies are developed and implemented in response to non-instrumental rationalities of government. He claims public and media outrage and emotion around the issues of criminality can underlie ideas and politics, so that penal practices cannot always be explained and understood through instrumental rationality. The following analysis acknowledges this criticism, and investigates the role of public and media influences upon the provision of outdoor adventure practice.

The theoretical approach taken here therefore overcomes many of the theoretical problems within leisure studies literature, and tackles the neglect of the role of discipline with governmentality research. The design of the study (a grounded empirical study, with emphasis on agency rather than freedom, and a sensitivity towards the influence both of public opinion as well as liberal rationalities of governance) also aims to overcome some of the problems that have been recognised within governmentality research. Through these ways, this thesis aims to contribute to both leisure and governmentality studies.

### **3.5 CONCLUSION**

The two parts of Foucault's oeuvre examined here constitute a very strong theoretical framework with which to investigate the role of outdoor adventure. *Discipline and Punish* and *Care of the Self* allow subjects to be active in the creation of their subjectivities. This activity is necessarily regulated and mediated by external social and cultural factors through the influence of dominant discourses and knowledges that prescribe 'right' and 'wrong' actions, and through the role of external observations and judgements of subjects that categorise individuals into particular subjectivities such as the criminal or the law abiding person. Together *Discipline and Punish* and Foucault's ethics enable society to be viewed as a network of disciplinary locales that operates on different levels (the individual, institutional and societal levels) to which all

people are subjugated, subjugate themselves and subjugate others. This is not to say that these technologies are deterministic and leave no space for choices and actions, but rather to make clear that, through the creation of discourses of truth and through the judgements of others, people are invited and persuaded to govern themselves in way that fit political aspirations. Because governance works through individuals - they are the means of power, rather than the target of power - conformity is not compulsory, and on individual's ethical work may reject strategies of normalisation and governance. However, influence is exerted on individual choices through truth discourses and disciplinary techniques in ways that encourage conformity with political desires.

By investigating the presence of overt discipline (as theorised in *Discipline and Punish*), the disciplinary role of outdoor adventure for young offenders can be explicitly examined. By looking at more subtle form of regulation (ethics and governance), its full (overt *and* discrete) disciplinary role may be investigated. Also, by investigating the presence of non-authoritative, non-institutionalised forms of discipline within outdoor adventure, it may be possible to determine whether programmes for the general public fulfil a disciplinary role, and by so doing expand the reach of the study beyond outdoor adventure specifically for young offenders.

This thesis therefore uses this Foucauldian perspective to investigate the social role of outdoor adventure as one specific example of 'leisure'. First outdoor adventure will be investigated for its overtly disciplinary features. Does outdoor adventure display the disciplinary tactics that Foucault recognised in *Discipline and Punish*? Can this analysis of outdoor adventure be seen to support the idea that leisure serves the interests of social control? Next the presence of individual agency in outdoor adventure will be investigated by attempting to identify practices of individual ethics. This will reveal whether outdoor adventure provides opportunities for self-determination and, if so, whether self-determination contributes to experiences of autonomy or to self-regulation and governance (including disciplinary techniques). This will address the question: 'does outdoor adventure, as an example of leisure, exert regulatory influences?'

## **CHAPTER FOUR: Methodology**

### **4. 1. PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATION TO THE METHODOLOGICAL STRATEGY: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

Foucault claimed that he wanted his work to be used as a ‘toolbox’ for other researchers to use to address questions of power relations and subjectivity. Foucault did not aim to tell researchers ‘how’ to do research (Foucault 1982), but his corpus informs other research by posting a critical philosophical stance that problematises naturalised assumptions, ideas of ‘truth’, and the ‘essential’ qualities of people and things. These ‘truths’ are not accepted but investigated for their ideological and political functions.

Three ideas, drawn from Foucault’s work, are used to structure the methodological basis of this study: a critical, politicised stance towards naturalised assumptions in outdoor adventure, a method that involves the close reading and subjective interpretation of documents associated with outdoor adventure, and a focus upon intertextuality. However, some criticisms of Foucault and other discourse analysts, have led to a fourth concern, namely, to develop an approach that is grounded in the concrete reality of outdoor adventure. These aims inform this study’s choice of sources, methods of data collection and methods of analysis, all of which are based in a discourse analytic approach. These are discussed in section 4.2 to 4.4; first the Foucauldian influence will be explained in more detail.

#### **4.1.1 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS**

Discourse analysis is an analytical method which critiques the idea that texts (a term inclusive of the many ways that beliefs and ideas are represented in society: writing, speech and pictures) are neutral mediums for the description of pre-existing entities or the simple exchange of information (the correspondence theory of language).

Texts are instead recognised as sites of the construction and (re)production of meanings, which do not relate to any essential 'truth' but are culturally, historically and politically inscribed (Burman and Parker 1993, Burr 1985, Lee 1992, Lemké 1995, Potter and Wetherall 1987, Said 1995). This approach clearly shares the philosophical foundations of Foucault's oeuvre: a awareness of the constructed nature of knowledge, and its political role. Foucault (1991e: 76), for example claimed;

“the world of speech and desires has known invasions, struggles, plundering, disguises, ploys”.

In the following Foucauldian analysis, texts are examined to investigate the perceptions and beliefs that inform their production and consumption, i.e. they are investigated for their discursive content. Here, 'discourse' refers to the common ways of perceiving objects, people or activities. Each particular portrayal of an object, and the beliefs and themes that contribute to it, are conceived as one discourse. Because there are many ways of perceiving any one thing, there are many discourses that may contradict, or collude with each other. Some beliefs, however, have greater social acceptance, and therefore greater political power.

Examining discourses is important because they inform people's beliefs and social interactions, and so affect the material reality, existence and experiences of individuals and things. Via the political relations that underlie textual production (who makes them, who is given voices in texts, the authority attributed to different texts and authors), and through cultural and historical inheritance of particular values, certain beliefs are propagated as 'right' whilst others are rejected or excluded. Lemké (1995) argues that this establishes the beliefs and interests of dominant groups as 'common-sense' and self-evidently right, whilst 'other' beliefs and voices become marginalised (see also Ericson et al 1987). Discourse analysis, then, is a method which investigates the political relations of domination, marginalisation and resistance, and how these affect the ways the world, and the people and the things in it, are perceived.

#### 4.1.2 A CLOSE, SUBJECTIVE READING OF THE TEXTS

Discourse analysis therefore examines the political role of texts, but as well as indicating a particular *attitude* to texts and truths, it suggests a particular *way* of analysing. Discourse analysis involves the researcher closely reading texts for their potential meanings and influences: it is a subjective interpretation. This perspective is shared by Foucault, who argued that insights are not gained through positivist methods (developing and testing hypothesis, searching for universal truths), and proposed that instead analysis should proceed from close examination and interpretation of the objects under study to the development of ideas and theories - a 'bottom-up', instead of 'top-down' approach. Philo (1992: 150) summarises this methodology:

“he [Foucault] signposts an avenue for inquires which subject this dispersion [of sources] to careful analysis free from any totalising retreat towards a priori constructs not rooted in the empirical materials at hand”.

This analysis has therefore proceeded by the careful and close examination of the sources under study, the interpretation of what each one says, the identification of similarities and differences in the stories that they tell, and the analysis of the political reasoning behind, and effect of, those stories. However, it is impossible to approach such sources with a completely blank mind, and, although no formal hypothesis were tested, my own perceptions and beliefs of outdoor adventure and young offender will have informed this interpretation (see section 4.6.1).

This subjective interpretation is necessarily relative. A corollary to the recognition that language is not neutral is the recognition that it cannot be neutrally received. Each person's understanding is unique, influenced by their individual positionality (Lemké 1995). McDowell (1996: 418) also argues:

“[T]exts and novels are constantly reinterpreted according to theoretical projects, to alternative readers and different times”.

So each person's interpretation varies from another's, and interpretations even

vary within the same individual in different times and contexts. The interpretation offered here is, then, one of infinite possibilities. This relativity needs to be recognised, but does not undermine the value of this subjective interpretation. Research into the decentring of the subject has shown that, although unique, every person's interpretation draws upon a 'pool' of social meanings, which pervade society and through which we make sense out of actions, objects and people. Interpretations are not 'free' but are varied 'selections' taken and used from common and shared beliefs. Foucault (1992: xx), for example claimed:

"The fundamental codes of a culture - those governing its language, its schemas of perception, its exchanges, its techniques, its values, the hierarchy of its practice - establish for every man, from the first, the empirical orders with which he will be dealing, and within which he will be at home".

This shared understanding of culture means that interpretations derived from discourse analysis will draw on common social understandings, so, although they are subjective interpretations they are also representative, drawing on what Lemké (1995: 7) terms 'social habits' of thought:

"particular kinds of *discourses* ...are produced as the result of certain social habits that we have as a community. There are particular subjects some of us are in the habit of talking about in particular ways, often as part of particular parts of social activity"

(original emphasis, see also Marshall and Raabe 1993).

This brings 'personal' views into question, and suggests that my understandings reflect, at least to some extent, the common pool of social meanings of outdoor adventure. This approach therefore acknowledges that any interpretations are necessarily subjective, but recognises that this subjective approach produces interpretations compatible with other people's beliefs and perceptions.

This study aims to identify what discourses are used in the debate on outdoor adventure, and, by looking at how they are used, theorise their possible functions. It aims to identify discourses which function to legitimise and to naturalise, and so to disguise, inequalities sustained by power relations in outdoor adventure and leisure, but also to identify discourses that challenge and perhaps alter these beliefs. It must be emphasised throughout, however,



that this is not an attempt to generalise what outdoor adventure is, can do, should do, or how it should be used. Nor does it aim to impose this interpretation as 'the right one'. Instead it aims to investigate the politics of truth: to recognise the complex and contradictory discourses through which (I believe) outdoor adventure and its participants are given meanings and become understood in particular ways in the particular localities of the texts this study uses.

#### **4.1.3 INTERTEXTUALITY**

Within discourse analysis there is an emphasis on intertextuality. Intertextuality recognises that any understanding of a text is not produced in consequence of reading/hearing/seeing a single text. The interpretative experience also draws upon previous encounters with associated discourses. These provide a background for both the production and the interpretation of texts, and provide the resources needed to make meaning (Cresswell 1996, Lemké 1995). A multiplicity of discursive texts exist on outdoor adventure - the following list suggests just a few. In academic circles there is research into outdoor adventure's ability to meet many people's needs - as a rehabilitative tool for young offenders (Gillis 1991, Kennedy & Masahiko 1993, Marx 1988, Kimball 1983); as a therapeutic tool, for example to alleviate Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (Hyer et al 1996); to promote educational ends (Hunt 1989, Morris & Weinman 1996, Watts, Apps & East 1993, Fletcher 1970) and management development courses for companies (Hunt 1989). In professional circles there is literature into how outdoor adventure can best be applied, and government reports into its effectiveness to meet certain goals (Utting 1996). For enthusiasts there are books describing how to do it (walking, climbing, kayaking etc.), and where to do it. At the general interest level, there are stories about people who have achieved great feats in outdoor adventure, there are newspaper articles writing about outdoor adventure, TV programmes addressing it, and radio programmes talking about it (e.g. 'Ramblings' on BBC Radio 2). And, for consumers, there are brochures from providers to a range of clients selling outdoor adventure.

To acknowledge this range and the importance of intertextuality, this study analyses

a number of different sources (as in *types* of sources, and the *number* of sources looked at within each of these categories). This is important because different sources construct different meanings, yet interact to create a body of discourses drawn upon in any single interpretation. An extensive selection of sources is also important because discourses are sites of contestation and negotiation - spaces where political struggles over meaning occur (Foucault 1970). They are written by different authors and influenced by different power relationships, meaning that a wide range of sources is needed to identify and to reflect such struggles. However, because inter-textuality is potentially never-ending, the field has had to be delimited due to time and financial constraints; in this instance, and for reasons which are explained in section 4.2, three types of source are used: newspapers, brochures and interviews.

#### **4.1.4 AN ANALYSIS OF 'REAL OBJECTS'**

The choice of texts was further influenced by Fairclough (1992) who, whilst recognising the important contribution of Foucault's work noted that his focus on the structures and conditions that enabled the spread of discourses resulted in a neglect of 'real texts'. The focus on structures has led to the critique that his work is overly determined:

"Foucault is charged with exaggerating the extent to which the majority of people are manipulated by power; he is accused of not giving enough weight to the contention of practices, struggles between social forces over them possibilities of dominated groups opposing dominant discourses and non discursive systems, possibilities of change being brought about in power relations through struggle and so forth" (Fairclough 1992: 56).

A similar critique of other writers who have used Foucault's philosophy has also be raised by Garland (1997)(see also section 3.5). The focus on structures rather than material practices has led to Foucault's vision of life appearing more universally dominated than it seems to be in reality, and in fact ignoring the 'real life' operation of disciplinary and governmentality practices. The discourse analysis used in this work is therefore grounded by being based around 'real texts', and talk with 'real people'. Doing this, will, it is hoped, avoid any single dominant discourse and reveal a complex array of

different, sometimes contradictory, sometimes colluding beliefs. This is important as it grounds the investigation of domination through discourse in the material content of people's life. It is not a theoretical imposition but a detailed interpretation of 'real' discursive practices. In doing this it enables discourses, techniques and effects of resistance and contestation to be recognised.

Whilst Foucault's discourse analysis has been critiqued as being too abstract, other discourse analytic work has been criticised for an overemphasis on detail. Boweb and Iwi cited in Burman and Parker (1993) argue that some discourse analysis has looked at linguistic structures at the expense of social and political relations. For example, Lee's (1992) *Competing Discourses* gives great emphasis to linguistic tactics and devices of dominant discourses, for example nominalisation and metaphors. As a result it is argued that:

"there is great danger of attempting to prevent the analysis of grammatical constructions from leading to an analysis of the social relations implied by discursive forms"  
(Boweb and Iwi 1991, in Burman and Parker 1993: 157).

This study's use of discourse analysis aims to navigate between the two poles of being too detached from the text or too involved with the details of the text. It does not examine the minutiae of textual communication, but instead aims to look at the themes and contents within texts, to identify the different discourses used in relation to outdoor adventure (by protagonists, antagonists and the undecided) in the debate over its use as a rehabilitation tool for young offenders.

This grounding of analysis in real sources is also important from a Foucauldian standpoint. Foucault emphasised that power operates not through momentous occasions, but through individual everyday lives. Talking about his genealogical method, he argues:

"it must record the singularity of events outside of any monotonous finality, it must seek them in unpromising places, in what we tend to feel is without history" (Foucault 1991e: 76).

That is, it looks towards places and uses sources of the everyday, which can reveal how power works, not in momentous, overt occasions, but in the

minutiae of individual lives. Grounding this study in the real and the everyday enables power's influence to be recognised.

This methodological stance, then, will identify the way that different subjects (participants in outdoor adventure) and activities (outdoor adventure and leisure) are constituted through discourse(s) through a focus on intertextuality. By following an analysis of the content of discourses, outdoor activities' role as a technique of domination and as a site of resistance can be investigated, as can the political struggle over discourses in this arena.

The philosophy which structures the methodological basis of this study then, is fourfold: a critical, politicised stance towards naturalised assumptions in outdoor adventure, a method that involves the close reading and analysis of documents associated with outdoor adventure, an awareness of the variety of texts which influence perceptions of outdoor adventure, and an approach that is grounded in the concrete reality of outdoor adventure.

## **4.2 CHOICE OF SOURCES**

This Foucauldian influenced methodological stance has two important consequences for the choice of sources used in analysis. First, people become subjectified through the realm of 'everyday' occurrences, and so it is how people experience themselves in day to day life that needs to be addressed. Second, people's interpretations are based on discourses in the plural, so intertextuality must be acknowledged (see also Lemké 1995: 29-30). To address these issues a triad of sources has been used; outdoor adventure brochures (whose value as a research tool has been recognised but only relatively recently and not extensively: Dann (1996), newspaper articles about outdoor adventure provision for young offenders, and interviews (of outdoor adventure providers, social workers who choose to (or not to) recommend these programmes, and sheriffs who decide young offenders' sentences). This varied set aims to recognise the influence of many different sources, i.e. intertextuality. In practical terms it is impossible to follow Foucault's ideal of

complete open mindedness towards *all* potential sources (in terms of time and access, Philo 1992), but, by studying a selection of the different types of sources that represent outdoor adventure, this study has attempted to acknowledge the range of influences on perceptions.

This selection also brings the focus of the research into the everyday. Newspapers and brochures are features of everyday life. They are read in, and exert their influence on, people's interpretations within the informal social settings within which people live. Analysis of these representations provides access to the ideas and concepts of leisure and outdoor adventure that pervade society. By focussing on newspapers, this methodology also investigates one section of the mass-media, a resource which influences many peoples opinions, yet one which geographers have been criticised for ignoring (Burgess 1990, Ericson et al 1987). But although useful, newspapers are unable to show how individual subjectivities are influenced through the *experience* of outdoor adventure. They also represent the popular rather than the professional perspectives of outdoor adventure. Interviews have therefore been used to show how people involved in the provision of outdoor adventure for the rehabilitation of young offenders envisage how subjectivities and identities are produced through that experience, and to garner professional perspectives on outdoor adventure's social role. Providers of outdoor adventure have been deliberately chosen as the object of study rather than young people participating in outdoor adventure for one very important reason. This study is a study of discourses and power relations: how have outdoor adventure and young offenders been constructed in society? Young offenders, because of their status, are pretty much excluded from distributing persuasive and pervasive discourses about themselves or outdoor adventure except in very localised settings. Because of their limited contribution to wide scale interpretations, which carry the authority to influence other's beliefs, they have not been used in this analysis.

In focusing on brochures this research follows the recent recognition of the value of brochures in constructing identities of objects, people and places in geographical and tourism research. For example, Cloke and Perkins (1998)

used discourse analysis to theorise how adventure tourist brochures in New Zealand have been used to create a new vision or 'brand' of 'New Zealand' that embodies discourses of spectacular landscapes and a place for 'fresh youthful thrills' and experimentation (1998: 206). Dann (1996), using a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods, focuses on how a selection of eleven different tourist brochures, aimed at the British market, created constructions of tourists and their hosts. In using brochures, this study is drawing and extending research on this source which though emerging, is still small (Dann 1996).

Brochures were chosen as a source to show how outdoor adventure and people 'doing' outdoor adventure are constructed by providers' publicity materials. This aimed to show the effects that outdoor adventure providers believe their provision to have. Additionally, because brochures must appeal to the public, they draw upon public beliefs and discourses of what outdoor adventure 'does'.

However, using brochures as a sole source has limitations. Because they are solicited, their circulation is restricted only to those thinking of going on outdoor adventure. This results in their rhetorical function being limited in reach. Yet, their utilisation of discourses circulating in and through society means that the discourses which they use can be seen to embody, and to reflect, those in general circulation and are not simply limited to people thinking about or participating in outdoor activities. More problematic is that fact, that as an advertising tool, brochures must create desire in the consumer (Barnard 1995); and therefore they promote a one sided, positive picture of outdoor adventure and its effects.

Newspapers were used in this analysis to provide a more critical perspective on outdoor adventure and its use. Newspapers are able to reflect negative interpretations of outdoor adventure as they are not constrained by the need to promote and to sell outdoor adventure as a commodity. Different discourses than those present in brochures were expected to be evident in newspaper representations of outdoor adventure and its participants. Moreover, the



news media is argued to have great influence over people's thoughts, beliefs and perceptions. Philo et al (1982) argue that the news serves a ideological function: it does not simply *inform* readers but *produces* ways of seeing and understanding the world which favour some interests over others. This is achieved by the news setting the agenda about what is important (what is discussed), by controlling the information given to people which they can use to make up their minds, and by the presentation of that information.

Other writers have also recognised the importance that news has in forming public opinion. Writing about perceptions of deviance, Ericson et al (1987: 3) argued:

“most people derive their understanding of deviance and control primarily from the news and other mass media. In terms of their ability to choose what to convey, and the huge audiences to whom they convey it, journalists possibly have more influence in designating deviance and in contributing to control than do some of the more obvious agents of control. In effect journalists join with other agents of control as a kind of ‘deviance defining elite’, using the new media to provide an ongoing articulation of the proper bounds of behaviour in all organised sphere of life. Moreover, journalists do not merely reflect others’ efforts to designate deviance and affect control, but are actively involved themselves as social-control agents. As such, journalists play a key role in constituting visions of order, stability and change, and in influencing the control practices that accord with these visions. In sum, journalist are central agents in the production of order”

(see also Ericson et al 1991, Branston and Stafford 1996).

Understanding how newspapers construct outdoor adventure will provide important insights into public perceptions of outdoor adventure: how is it seen, and whether this is perceived to be a deviant, or an acceptable, rehabilitative tool.

Brochures and newspapers provide general interpretations from observers of outdoor adventure. Professional and experts within the field may have very different ideas. Interviews were held to enable their beliefs and views to be identified. Different types of professionals are involved in the provision of outdoor adventure for young offenders: social workers recommend its use (either formally through courts as part of an ‘order’, or informally to their client, as a supplementary activity), sheriffs or magistrates have to finally

approve any formal recommendations which the social workers make, and outdoor adventure professionals are directly involved in its provision. All of these people were interviewed to try to get access to the views of all those involved in the utilisation of outdoor adventure for young offenders.

### **4.3. COLLECTION OF DATA**

#### **4.3.1 BROCHURES**

As mentioned, outdoor adventure serves a variety of functions. It is used as a rehabilitative tool for young offenders, a therapeutic intervention for the mentally ill or those who have experienced traumas, as an educational and personal development tool, for team building and management courses, or as a source of fun and excitement. To acknowledge this range of uses, and to recognise how outdoor adventure is represented across its different functions (in terms of contrasting and similar discourses), an equal number of brochures from providers of outdoor adventure for the rehabilitation of young offenders and from providers for other clients were selected. This enabled representations of outdoor adventure's explicitly disciplinary role to be contrasted against representations of its other functions.

To collect information about providers of outdoor adventure which provided services for young offenders, all social services and probation services in Britain were canvassed. They were asked if they used outdoor activities with young offenders and, if so, which organisation did they use. If the initial letter went unanswered a second letter was sent (see appendix 1). The addresses of these services was obtained from Clement's Municipal Year Book (1996). The response rate for social work departments was high, with 135 out of 172 responding. The response from probation services was not as high (21 out of 58). While some probation services replied to the initial enquiry, many probation officers were unable to help unless permission to ask for information from the Association of Chief Officers of Probation had been obtained. This permission was sought and secured, but, although probation services were

informed that my project was approved, I received few replies. However, because the responses I had received were repeatedly naming the same outdoor organisations, it was decided not to pursue other probation officers as this was unlikely to provide new information. For details of the response to the canvas see appendix 2.

From these canvasses two different types of outdoor adventure provision emerged. Some provision was through private companies with which social and probation service contracted when needed. Other probation and social service teams ran 'in house services', either with workers taking clients out on an informal basis, or more formally through designing and running their own courses. It was decided that this study should focus on the former for three reasons. Preceding and concurrent with my own research Geoff Nichols and others at Sheffield University researched probation services using outdoor adventure for the rehabilitation of youth offenders (see Nichols 1997). This research team expressed a concern that, if I also focused on these probation services, these may feel 'over-researched' and so become resistant to further research. Secondly, within the public sector there is a move away from internal to private provision; 'contacting out' or 'out-sourcing'. For example, several of the probation run schemes to which social workers had pointed had stopped by the time I was in contact with them (for example Project Grannoch, run by Lancashire Probation Service, closed in the early 1990s, as had ALEC - the Alternative Life Experience Course - which was run in Doncaster by the South Yorkshire Probation Service). Focussing on private provision was therefore thought likely to yield more organisations to study, and to make this study more relevant for understanding outdoor adventure use within the present context of the move to contracted private organisations. Lastly, because private companies have actively to 'sell' their services to government agencies, it was thought a focus on these would elicit more brochures and publicity material.

From the local government canvass, twenty six private providers were identified ( i.e. not probation run schemes) ( see appendix 2). These organisation were written to and asked for a copy of their brochure. Most

replied with brochures; however, some organisations did not produce brochures, and others claimed that they did not believe their service was relevant for my study (see table 4.1). Time Out said that they did not use outdoor adventure as part of their programmes, whilst the Duke of Edinburgh Scheme and Outward Bound claimed to make no special provision for young offenders. Young offenders may participate in these programmes, but the providers do not use these as attempts to alter offender behaviour, or make any special provision or treatment because they are young offenders: participants simply apply for and partake in programme like any other client. This fits in with some social work responses which claimed that they used to work with Outward Bound courses specially run for young offenders, but that this provision has stopped. It was impossible to make any contact at all with other organisations (see table 4.1). The letter sent to Whitty Tree House was returned, claiming there was no such organisation at this address - and from five other organisations I received no response. I telephoned these organisations on the number provided by the social work departments, but there was no connection or no answer. I then phoned directory enquiries to see if they had another telephone number for these organisations - thinking they may have moved location - but no numbers were available. Given this difficulty in making contact with these organisations, I presumed that these services were no longer operating. All of the organisations cited, and whether I was able to make contact with them, is shown in table 1.

The centres which sent brochures provided the basis for the brochure analysis of outdoor adventure provision for young offenders. Not all of these organisations dealt specifically with young offenders: some have a broader client base. Those who worked only with young offenders are marked with an asterix in table 2.4. However, because organisations that have a mixed client base do try to develop or to resolve the problems of young offenders, as well as of non-offending youth, and, because many seek to prevent at risk youths from becoming involved in criminal activities, they are included in the sample of brochures representing the use of outdoor adventure by young offenders. For clarity of reference these providers will be referred to as 'rehabilitative programmes' throughout this thesis. This is simply because

it is too long-winded and awkward to refer to programmes that aim to rehabilitate young offenders and those that aim to prevent criminality *and* recidivism each time these programmes are discussed. Although other outdoor adventure programmes may be considered rehabilitative (e.g. the rehabilitation of individuals with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: Hyer et al 1996), within the context of this study it is clear that 'rehabilitative' refers to the rehabilitation of young offenders and the prevention of recidivism.

The type of provision that these programmes provide varies quite a lot, although they are all united in an attempt to address offending behaviours (and sometime other forms of personal development through outdoor adventure). Because of variation in programmes, quotes from different organisations will be sourced directly, so that what any organisation says can be directly attributed to that organisation. The main characteristics of each of the organisations studied in this analysis are summarised in appendix 3.

The provision of outdoor adventure across its other - non rehabilitative - uses (for example, fun, education and personal development) is much more extensive. To select a group of brochures to study, and to compare with brochures for the rehabilitation of young offenders, a careful selection of providers was made from a list that included as many providers of outdoor adventure as possible. Four sources were used to make this list. Since 1996, in the wake of the Lyme Bay Disaster, when a group of schoolchildren drowned on a canoeing expedition, all providers of outdoor adventure provision for under 16s have to be licensed by the Outdoor Adventure Licensing Authority. The list of these providers is available to the public on the world wide web (<http://www.aala.org>). This source provides a comprehensive national list of provision for under 16s and provided most of the information about such organisations that this study used. However, it was supplemented by three other sources of information. Outdoor adventure providers have their own association which publishes details of organisations for adults as well as youths, 'The Outdoor Adventure Providers Association'. This was used to get details of outdoor adventure programmes for adults and mixed age groups. The National Youth Agency maintain and publish a list

of all activity centres for youths, which was also used. Last, Hunt (1989) listed many providers of outdoor adventure. Altogether this produced a list of 909 organisations. From this list a purposive sample was selected (Baxter and Eyles 1996, Dixon and Burma 1987). The choice of brochures was based on three priorities: to represent the different functions that outdoor adventure serves, to include provisions which cater for a wide age range, and to focus upon national providers.

Examination of the providers in the source appeared to suggest that there are three main areas of provision for the non-offending client group: fun based programmes (whose priority was to provide enjoyment), educational based programmes (whose priority was to provide environmental or academic education), and personal development programmes (which tried to develop people's characters; for example, the development of self-confidence, teamwork and so on). Unless the sample included examples from each of these, it was initially believed that the representations of outdoor adventure studied could produce a partial version of its wider social functions. Secondly, and for the same reason, brochures were chosen that appealed to a range of ages, so that the discourses identified were not limited to functions for a restricted social group. The last priority was that the organisations analysed were well known national providers. These were deliberately included because it could be expected that their status would result in a particularly wide circulation of their literature. This was considered important because when trying to appeal to lots of people, they would be using discourses in wide social circulation rather than local or specific discourses. It was also hoped that, as large associations, their brochures would be full and well-developed, providing very rich material to study. The final sample of fourteen brochures used is shown in table 4.2.



**TABLE 4.1: OUTDOOR ADVENTURE ORGANISATIONS  
CONTACTED AND THEIR RESPONSES**

CONTACT	ORGANISATION
Organisation sent brochure	Airborne Initiative* Care Afloat* Bryn Melyn Community Corvedale Care* Fairbridge Outdoor Resource Centre Renaissance Maritime Trust Turnaround* Venture Scotland Venture Trust* Youth At Risk*
Contact made but organisation had no brochures to send	West Coast Adventure Scottish Centres Marthron of Mabie Outward bound Therapeutic centre. Hawk Associates
Organisation did not have any aims to address offending	Outward Bound Duke Of Edinburgh Award Time Out
No contact made	Whitty Tree House Branas Isaf Centre Hawk Associates Outdoor Development Training Outdoor Seal Island Ropes Course Development Ltd. Upward And Outward. Progress Initiative (I was told that this was permanently on hold and unlikely to restart)

\* work only with young offenders.

However, as the study progressed, it became apparent that the most useful and revealing way to use brochures to help interpret public perceptions of outdoor adventure for young offenders would be to compare provisions which aimed to entertain clients (that is a leisure activity that only aims to entertain) with those with rehabilitative aims. This was because, as chapter 2 has shown, traditionally leisure has been viewed as fun, free-time and as embodying freedom. Moreover, at the risk of discussing findings, rather than the methodological approaches, newspaper articles and discussions with social workers and outdoor adventure providers revealed that, within this context, outdoor adventure tends to be constructed in one of two ways.

**TABLE 4.2: A LIST OF THE OUTDOOR ADVENTURE ORGANISATIONS THAT WERE USED TO COMPARE AGAINST THOSE CATERING FOR CLIENTS WHO ARE YOUNG OFFENDERS**

<b>FUN BASED</b>	<b>EDUCATIONAL BASED</b>	<b>PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT BASED</b>
Holiday Adventure	Skern Lodge	Youth Hostel Association
Outdoor Adventure	Battisborough House	Outward Bound
Club Ardmore	Acorn Venture	Mill On The Brue
Camp Beaumont	Superchoice	
Freetime	Abernethy Trust	
	Venture UK	

The most popular and dominant discourse (as evident in most newspaper articles) constructs outdoor adventure as leisure, but there is also an important counter-discourse (mainly from professionals in the field and a few newspaper

articles) which constructs outdoor adventure as a valuable rehabilitative tool. Although outdoor adventure does serve other functions, as is shown above, within the context of its rehabilitative use these two, apparently opposing, constructions of outdoor adventure (leisure and rehabilitation) dominate the debate. In contrast, other functions of outdoor adventure (its educational role, for example) were not very relevant to the debate. This seems to concur with Newton's (1997: 152) claim that the news media can sensationalise events by reducing complex issues into two, simple and usually opposing camps, ignoring other opinions, subtleties and complexities. This could not be fully appreciated until after the research had begun, and so did not inform the initial brochure collection. The first concern raised above - that the sample should represent the range of outdoor adventure's functions - was therefore a mistaken one and the subsequent analysis has tended to focus upon the first column in this table - leisure brochures. Because one of the two main discourses of outdoor adventure within this context is its construction as 'leisure', it is important to see the qualities that are attributed to that role, and their impact upon the rehabilitative use of outdoor adventure. It is similarly important to examine brochures supporting its rehabilitative role - the other major discourse found within this study - for the same reasons. It is, however, less relevant to examine other discourses surrounding outdoor adventure, which contribute little to public debate and perceptions of outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role.

Although the leisure brochures appear to be a small group to contrast against the larger number of brochures obtained from outdoor adventure providers, these brochures displayed many strong similarities, which suggests that although it is a small group (because they were initially only a part of the comparison group, rather than the main comparison group), they are representative of their genre. However, there remains a disparity in sample size.

### 4.3.2 NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Articles in UK broadsheets and tabloid newspapers which addressed the use of outdoor adventure by young offenders, published between 1993 and 1998, were collected. This date range was chosen because 1993 was the year in which the use of outdoor adventure to rehabilitate young offenders hit the headlines with the story of 'Safari Boy': a young offender at Bryn Melyn who was sent on a rehabilitation programme involving a safari in Kenya, a tour of Egypt and diving in the Red Sea. Around this date there were many articles published about outdoor adventure which provide rich resource material. The debate, which began around foreign experiences, extended to outdoor activity provision within Britain, and this issue provoked a great many responses, representing many different views of outdoor adventure. Articles published until 1998 were collected, because, although the media outrage in 1993 and 1994 provided rich resource material, it also utilised and provoked a great many negative visions of outdoor adventure that were perhaps not representative of feelings towards this form of rehabilitation under less contentious circumstances. Articles were collected until this later date to find how outdoor adventure was represented over a longer period of time, hoping to collect representations of its role after the tabloid outrage over 'Safari Boy'. Newspaper articles published after 1998 were not collected for practical reasons: a great volume of material had been collected up to this date (see Appendix 4 for details of the newspaper articles used), and there were time constraints which necessarily limited the amount of data that could be collected and analysed.

Articles were collected from all of the major UK papers, tabloids as well as broad sheets. This was to ensure that the full range of opinions expressed and read, across different political beliefs and readerships styles, were recognised. Broadsheet articles were identified from CD Roms issued by the newspapers (*The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Times*, *The Scotsman*, *The Telegraph*, *The Observer*, and associated Sunday papers). Two sets of key words (young offender(s) / outdoor adventure (activities)) were typed into the CD Rom's index for the years under study, and the relevant articles printed. Some of

the earlier years under study (1993/1994) were not available on CD Roms, but these were identified through the British Humanities Index and copied from microfiche. Tabloid papers (*The Sun*, *Daily Mirror*, and associated Sunday papers) do not distribute CD Roms (with the exception of the *Daily Mail* which was collected by the process above), and do not have their articles referenced in the British Humanities Index. These were accessed through the National Newspaper Library in London. The dates of articles which appeared in the broadsheets provided the basis for tabloid searches. Assuming all papers would respond to the same news release or disclosure on the same days, microfiches for the dates of broadsheet articles were found, the papers read and relevant articles photocopied. The newspapers of the previous and subsequent two days to the actual date identified were also checked to ensure a delayed (or early) article on outdoor adventure and young offenders was not missed. Altogether 194 articles were collected.

#### **4.3.3 INTERVIEWS WITH PROVIDERS OF OUTDOOR ADVENTURE FOR YOUNG OFFENDERS**

All of the providers of outdoor adventure identified in the brochure analysis (section 4.3.2.1) were asked if they would participate in interviews. Initial contact was made through letters (appendix 1c) which introduced my project and raised the possibility of an interview. This was followed by telephone calls in which I introduced myself, explained the project in more depth, and personally asked for and arranged interviews. People tended to be very helpful and responsive, and most people who were approached for interviews agreed to them. However, it was not possible to arrange interviews with two organisations contacted, Hawk Associates and Marthron of Mabie. An interview was arranged with Hawk Associates, but was later cancelled by them because they were too busy. I tried to arranged another interview, first over the phone - it was not answered, so I left several messages, but received no reply. I then wrote to them, suggesting that they propose a time whenever they were less busy but received no reply from this either. Similarly, I telephoned

and wrote to Marthron of Mabie but received no response. After these attempts I decided not to pursue these organisations further.

Where possible, interviews were arranged with project directors or managers. This was to access the feelings and beliefs of the people who designed and managed the course about what their outdoor adventure programmes were achieving. It also enabled the identification of the discourses that were being used to explain their programmes, and showed how the practical format and arrangement of the course was linked to programme aims. However, it was not always possible to interview managers due to busy schedules (Fairbridge and Venture Scotland managers were too busy to see me); also problematic were changes in management (when I approached Airborne Initiative one manager had left and his replacement not yet started) or managers' beliefs that it would be more useful for me talking to someone who had direct contact with young offenders (Sail Training's director was involved more in administration and felt it would be more helpful for me to speak to the contact person for young offenders going on a voyage).

Two of the projects, Sail Training and Fairbridge, are national organisations with several centres around Britain. In these instances I contacted local rather than head offices. This was to ensure that I used the actual projects that social services had referred me to in the canvass (Aberdeenshire Council, for example, used Sail Training's Aberdeen office; and Edinburgh City Council used Fairbridge's Edinburgh office). Also these local centres appear to have considerable autonomy: their practice is not determined by a central head office, but is in local control. By interviewing regional or local project managers, I identified how the practice in that local centre was affected by that centre's philosophy. Most providers, though, had only one centre.

In some projects I was additionally given the opportunity of interviewing people who worked more directly with young offenders to see what value they see on the courses. Though this was not a direct methodological aim of the research it proved very valuable, as the workers sometimes held different views to the director. This was important, not because I was looking for



conflict within outdoor adventure settings, but because it allowed the range of perspectives within outdoor adventure organisations to be identified. All of the people interviewed and their positions are shown in table 4.3.

Within outdoor adventure interviews, confidentiality and anonymity of information was offered, but not taken up. This is probably because one of the motivations for participation was the opportunity to use this research as a mouthpiece. Outdoor adventure has been criticised for its misuse of leisure and this research was seen by many as an opportunity to counter this. It was evident from discussions that this research was an opportunity for providers to disseminate their beliefs about the role and value of outdoor adventure to counter negative representations of outdoor adventure. As such people wanted what they had to say heard, not hidden, and there was no potential problem of third party disclosure. The anonymity of interviewees, even if wanted, would have been difficult if not impossible to guarantee. Because of the varied nature of outdoor adventure provision, each of the programmes differed (see appendix 3), perhaps leading to slightly different perspectives on outdoor adventure's role. I therefore thought it would be useful to attribute each quote to its (organisational) source, so that the orientation of each quote would be known to the reader. Because of the very small size of most of these organisations, naming the organisation may mean that the interviewee could be easily identified. However, neither confidentiality nor anonymity were wanted.

Three organisations (Airborne Initiative, Venture Trust and Venture Scotland) gave me the opportunity to go on these outdoor programmes so that I could see first hand what occurred there and also have the chance speak to workers freely, in situ, over a prolonged period of time. This was beneficial because it provided opportunities to get to know respondents well to develop rapport, and to learn the culture of outdoor adventure world (Baxter and Elyes 1996). This also gave me the chance to meet young offenders on programmes and to identify their perceptions. Again this was a bonus rather than an integral part of my research and the opportunities informally, rather than formally, informed my research.

**TABLE 4.3: LIST OF OUTDOOR ADVENTURE PROVIDERS  
INTERVIEWED**

<b>ORGANISATION</b>	<b>PEOPLE INTERVIEWED</b>
AIRBORNE INITIATIVE	Tony Burley. Deputy Manager Paul Davies. Team Leader (manages key workers and works directly with clients) Chris Giddings. Key worker (works directly with clients)
BRYN MELYN	Correll Bury. Manager Peter Wilson. Care Worker
CARE AFLOAT	Danny Curran. Manager
CORVEDALE CARE	Simon Rouse. Manger Jon Hilton. Care Worker Chris Downs. Care Worker
SAIL TRAINING ASSOCIATION	Carol Coote. Secretary and Contact for young offenders and social workers
VENTURE TRUST	Martin Falmouth. Manager
FAIRBRIDGE	Ian McDonald. Youth Worker
VENTURE SCOTLAND	Matt White . Recruitment Officer
OUTDOOR RESOURCE CENTRE	Gary Evans. Manager
TURNAROUND	Colin Imrie. Director Roger Sharp. Director
RENAISSANCE MARITIME TRUST	Jeremy Bell. Director
YOUTH AT RISK	Becki Martin. Youth Worker
WEST COAST ADVENTURE	Richard Shuff. Director

#### **4.3.3.1 FORMAT OF INTERVIEWS**

Interviews were held in the outdoor adventure provider's place of work. This was to cause minimum inconvenience and also to ensure the interviews were in familiar settings. It was also hoped that, as they were in their work environment, they may be immersed in their work ideas and philosophy and therefore able to talk freely, openly and thoroughly about their views on outdoor adventure.

Interviews were requested to be on a one to one basis. This was to enable people to talk freely about their views uninfluenced by the presence of other people. When talking with workers, who sometimes held different views to directors, this privacy was useful in allowing people to talk openly about their thoughts without the threat of repercussions. One to one interviews also escaped a second problem of unequal power relations in group interview settings when very vocal and confident people may prevent the responses of more diffident, quieter participants being fully articulated and heard.

Two interviews, however, were held in a group situation. Turnaround has two project directors who expressed a wish to be interviewed together, whilst prior to my arrival and knowledge Corvedale Care's manager had arranged two workers to join in the interview. In neither case did I think that the group setting unduly affected the quality of the interview or the material which it produced. In the former the contributions of the two leaders were fairly equal, and in the latter the project manager left the interview after 30 minutes so that I was able to talk with the workers more freely after his departure. They also seemed very happy to express their views in front of each other (and also in front of the manager when he was there), although, as an outsider to both these situations, these are my assumptions. These interviews were analysed in the same way as one to one interviews were (see Section 4).

The interviews were semi-structured (May 1993). Themes believed important to address were identified, but, rather than simply ask questions and so

overly direct the interview process, the respondents were encouraged to talk around these themes (appendix 5a). This was done by using open questions and techniques which would encourage respondents to enlarge upon their beliefs. Leading questions and those which would elicit a yes/no response were avoided. This also enabled questions to arise out of the interviewees' responses and enabled the interview to address issues in their own terms of reference. Because this analysis is based around discourse analysis, it is important to use an interview style which allowed people to explore and to state their ideas and beliefs fully, and the style of interview used here enabled this. Marshall and Raabe (1993: 36) have recognised the value of allowing interviewees to discuss their ideas fully in discourse analysis:

“It is seen as important that participants should discuss in full their ideas and understanding of issues of concern. If this is allowed, the variation will emerge both due to the complexity and the issues explored and due to the functions of discourse”.

Using questions that elicit short answers is thought to invite people to give 'stock' answers and not to think about their beliefs fully. In contrast, encouraging people to discuss their thoughts provides more information to analyse, enables people to consider fully and to explain their beliefs and ideas, and provides a context in which their statements can be contextualised and understood. Another value of this style of interviewing was that the interview was not limited to the interview schedule. By letting the interviewee set the tone and structure the conversation, the interviews were as grounded as possible, and information derived was that considered important by the interviewees rather than simple responses to imposed questions. This style of interview also allowed me to probe, and to ask for clarification on issues raised (May 1993).

Interviews varied in length from 45 minutes to 3 hours, and, after receiving permission from the interviewee, were tape recorded. This allowed me to concentrate fully on the interview (rather than have to take notes) which meant the most appropriate questions could be asked and interviewee response be understood and responded to. It also that I had a verbatim record of the interview, providing thorough and rich material to work with in the analysis. Interviewees were sent a copy of the transcript for them to correct,

comment on or add to as they felt appropriate. This provided the opportunity to gain further information, but it also gave them influence over the final source that was used in analysis.

#### **4.3.3.2 INTERVIEWEE / INTERVIEWER RELATIONSHIP**

The interview is a social process where social dynamics operate. It is believed that the development of rapport between interview and interviewer is valuable as it may elicit more in depth responses (May 1993). It is also important to acknowledge the power relations within the interview settings as these can affect the quality and type of material produced (Pile 1991, Baxter and Elyes 1996). In this study the interviews with outdoor adventure providers and workers benefited from rapport between myself and the interviewee. I believe that this was for five reasons. Outdoor adventure workers believed that my research would be of benefit to their field of work. There was a widespread belief that outdoor adventure for young offenders has had 'bad' press in the past that has limited its use, and that research would be one way of countering negative publicity. They also perceived a lack of research in outdoor activities. Many commented on the necessity of more research within the outdoor field, and all organisations requested a copy of the research outcomes. I believe that these perceived mutual benefits made people very willing to co-operate. Second, outdoor adventure work is a very informal world: interviews were conducted in jeans, tee shirts and fleeces, on first name terms, in gardens, coffee houses and over dinner tables as well as in offices. In fact, outdoor adventure workers spend their days developing rapport and relationships with youths, so informality and bonding was the norm (or at least the aim) of many of their social interactions. I believe that this philosophy and experience helped relationships within the interview setting to develop quickly. Third, there was a certain amount of shared interests between myself and the people who I interviewed. I am personally involved in outdoor activities including hill walking and climbing, and interviewees frequently asked me if this was so. This created a common interest in the outdoors. In the same vein, four of the people I met were also involved in research in the outdoor adventure field,

which generated further shared interests, and mutual assistance as ideas (and bibliographies!) were exchanged. Fourth, as the interviews progressed, I accessed a network of relationships. The outdoor adventure community shares a lot of acquaintances as people move from job to job and place to place. I was often asked, 'have I met so and so?', or spoken to this or that person. When I could say yes, there seemed a certain acceptance of me and of my research as I had become temporarily part outdoor adventure network. Lastly, I sometimes had to travel quite a long distance to conduct interviews (for example, I had to travel to Applecross in the North West of Scotland and to Bideford in Devon). Travelling long distances to talk to people emphasised the importance of their contribution to my research - I believe encouraging them to be very helpful, enthusiastic and vocal about their work, ideas and perceptions.

Throughout these interviews (between different ones and also within the same one) my 'position' and relationship to the interviewee was variable. At different times I was a researcher, a sympathiser, a colleague, and an 'outdoor enthusiast'. These positions led to the development of rapport, the collection of rich information, and many offers of help and assistance. I utilised these different positions to gain the best outcome for the empirical research. As none of these positions were false or deliberately manufactured to solicit rapport, but were natural social relations, I believe this conduct while beneficial to the research, remained ethical. My research aims and objectives were clearly specified, and although use was made of shared interests to achieve a rapport which may otherwise have been lacking, this was not deliberately or falsely manufactured.

A further factor that may have led to rapport is the similarity in age and ethnicity between myself and many of those interviewed. I am a white 28 year old woman. About half of the interviewees were late twenties or mid thirties; the rest being older, approximately between 40 and 60 years old, and all were white Europeans. May (1993) commented that similarities in age, gender and ethnicity can positively affect the quality of responses, whereas differences may curtail rapport. However, given the fact that about half of the interviewees were much older than myself, and that all but two of those interviewed were



male, I believe that these factors were less important to the development of rapport than the biographical ones mentioned above.

#### **4.3.4 SOCIAL WORKER INTERVIEWS**

It was decided to interview social workers from only one area: Edinburgh. This was largely for practical reasons. Time and economic constraints made it impossible to travel the country visiting many different social workers, to get a 'representative' survey. Given the number of social/probation workers in any region and the number of social/probation work regions in total (appendix 2) the scale of any such task would be unfeasible as part of a PhD. As I was studying in Edinburgh, this was the most convenient region to use as a case study for how and why social workers recommend outdoor adventure. As a case study, Edinburgh also had other advantages. As became apparent from outdoor adventure provider interviews, Edinburgh's social workers' use of outdoor adventure varied by area office to area office, between children and family and criminal justice teams, and internally within teams. This suggested that there would be no 'institutionalised' response to my questions. Concentrating on the use of outdoor adventure in one site had raised the concern that I may get a repeated 'Edinburgh Social Work' position emerging from interviews, rather than being able to access people's individual viewpoints, but this turned out not to be the case. A second advantage is that Edinburgh seems to adopt a moderate position in its use of outdoor adventure; it does not use it a great deal, like some regions (for example, Glasgow), but it uses it more than others. It was hoped that this moderate position would be reflected by a variety of responses from those who do and do not use outdoor adventure for young offenders. The knowledge of Edinburgh's 'moderate' position was obtained from an exploratory discussion with a social work manager at Shrubhill House (Edinburgh City's Social Work Headquarters). Edinburgh is also geographically close to a number of outdoor adventure provisions for young offenders. Fairbridge and Venture Scotland are both based in the city, whilst Scottish Centres and the Airborne Initiative are based in Biggar, only an hour's drive away. It was hoped that this proximity

would mean Edinburgh social workers would use a range of providers, enabling conversations based on the experience of a wide variety of outdoor providers, rather than a limited few. This, however, did not happen as most social workers had only used two providers (Airborne Initiative and Fairbridge), so discussions tended to be based around these.

I asked for interviews with practice team managers and with social workers who work directly with young offenders. The former were interviewed to determine if there existed a department policy on outdoor adventure, and, if so, what was it and why was it held. Social workers who had direct contact with young offenders were interviewed to identify individual perspectives on outdoor adventure. This was important as social workers possess a certain amount of autonomy in their decision making processes; it is they who decide whether or not to recommend outdoor adventure as an alternative to prison or part of a probation/supervision order, or to promote it as an additional, non-sentence based activity.

Access to social workers was gained through the research officer at Shrubhill House. After gaining permission to ask for interviews, I was given the address of the four main criminal justice teams in Edinburgh who provide support for over 16s, and also children and family teams who address all of the problems of for under 16s including, but not exclusive to, offending. As with the outdoor adventure providers, I wrote to each team manger introducing my research and asking them if they would participate in an interview. These letters (appendix 1d) were followed up with a phone call asking permission to interview themselves, and as many social workers as possible. Response from team leaders was generally good, although three team leaders were too busy to participate in the research. Table 4.4 lists social workers interviewed – this time names have been disguised to ensure confidentiality, as this was perceived to be more of an issue with social workers than it was with outdoor adventure providers. This could be because many social workers and leaders were disparaged on the press when the rehabilitative use of outdoor adventure was attacked. Table 4.4 a and b indicate the range of respondents, and

illustrates how social workers and practice team leaders will be referred to throughout this study, in a way that ensures confidentiality.

Despite the helpfulness of the team leaders and, although a letter was circulated around social workers in each department explaining my research and asking for interviews (appendix 1e), the uptake amongst social workers was not very high. Altogether seven people responded and were interviewed. This low uptake could have been because I was not able to telephone and to speak to these people individually. To limit disruption to peoples' work, the interview request was only allowed to be made by a letter was posted in departments (I was not given the names of individual social workers and so could not address them directly), or by being generally brought to people's attention in staff meetings. I think being unable to appeal to people personally was largely responsible for, and was evident in, the low response rate. It was especially hard to access social workers who did not use outdoor adventure. Although my letter requested interviews with those who did not, as well as with those who did, use outdoor adventure, only one social worker who did not use outdoor adventure replied. This may have produced an unintentional positive bias in social worker responses. Also, as can be seen in table 4.4a, there was a disproportionate response rate between different social work teams in Edinburgh; response rates from social workers in team 1 was far higher than in other teams. I do not know the reason for this, perhaps the practice team manager was more interested in my work and promoted it more, or perhaps the social workers were just more interested. Despite the small sample of social workers, similar ideas and themes recurred through the interview suggesting 'saturation' (the information that had been obtained was sufficient to have identified and discovered the themes that social workers felt were important: Baxter and Eyles 1996).

**TABLE 4.4A CRIMINAL JUSTICE SOCIAL WORKERS  
INTERVIEWED**

CRIMINAL JUSTICE TEAM	INTERVIEWEE
Team 1	Practice Team Manger 1 Social Worker A Social Worker B Social Worker C Social Workers D Social Worker E
Team 2	Practice Team Manager 2
Team 3	Practice Team Manager 3 Social Worker F
Team 4	Practice Team Manager 4

**TABLE 4.4B CHILDREN AND FAMILY TEAM WORKERS  
INTERVIEWED**

CHILDREN AND FAMILIES TEAM	INTERVIEWEE
Team 5	Practice Team Manager 5
Team 6	Social Worker G
Team 7	Practice Team Manager 6
Team 8	Practice Team Manager 7
Team 9	Practice Team Manager 8
Team 10	Practice Team Manager 9 Social Worker H
Team 11	Practice Team Manager 10
Team 12	Practice Team Manager 11

Note: Three of Edinburgh City’s Children’s and Family Teams were unable to help me in this study.

These interviews followed the same strategy as outdoor adventure providers; they were one to one, in confidence, conducted at the social worker's place of work, using a semi-structured approach, and tape recorded. They varied between twenty minutes and one hour thirty minutes.

#### **4.3.4.1 INTERVIEW / INTERVIEWEE RELATIONSHIP IN SOCIAL WORKER INTERVIEWS**

The social work interviews lacked the degree of rapport developed in those conducted with outdoor adventure providers, and this was made apparent in shorter interviews. This could be for several reasons. During the research it emerged that Edinburgh social workers have been frequently interviewed for a variety of research projects, and a few people commented on 'interview-fatigue', which may have decreased motivation for both participation at all, and performance during an interview. A few people also stated that they did not think this study was of relevance to themselves or their work, or that they could not help me because they did not use outdoor adventure. Time and work pressures also curtailed involvement. Three departments said they could not help me because of work pressure, and this same pressure also affected some interviews. At times interviews were necessary short (limited to a half hour), at other times they were frequently interrupted by the telephone or visitors to the office. These interruptions disrupted the continuity of the interview, and interrupted the flow of ideas. I also became involved, to my detriment, in local government politics. Permission to ask for these interviews had to be obtained through the research department at the central headquarters. However, some local social work officers seemed unhappy that I could gain access to them through what they saw as a separate body. In these instances, although the social workers and directors could always refuse an interview, I felt that interviewees felt externally forced to participate rather than internally motivated. Lastly, in contrast with outdoor adventure interviews, I appeared to have little in common with social workers; there was an age gap, a professional gap and, while there was less of a gender gap, most of the people who I interviewed were again male.

Some interviews with social workers were quite successful and revealed plenty of information, but these tended to be interviews with people involved in outdoor adventure themselves (reinforcing the idea that rapport emerges from shared interests) or who used outdoor adventure fairly extensively in their work with young offenders. As a consequence of this disparity in quantity and quality of material gained from social workers, some interviews are drawn upon more than others in the following analysis. This was unavoidable, as some people simply provided me with far more information than others, but it may have produced an unintentional bias in favour of outdoor adventure in these interviews which does not reflect opinion throughout this field.

#### **4.3.5 SHERIFF INTERVIEWS**

For a young offender to be sentenced to an outdoor adventure programme the social worker's recommendation must be accepted by a magistrate or sheriff. I therefore attempted to organise interviews with sheriffs at the sheriff court in Edinburgh to find out on what basis sheriffs would accept or reject such a recommendation. A request for interviews sent to the clerk to the sheriffs (appendix 1f) was, however, turned down. A second attempt was made to get access to the sheriffs by individually approaching one sheriff who was known to my second supervisor, and, through this, an interview was arranged. It was hoped this could then 'snowball' into gaining access to other sheriffs, and in fact from the first interview, a second was arranged. However, neither of these two interviews proved very useful, as it appeared that recommendations were accepted or rejected on the quality of that recommendation rather than as a result of any particular knowledge of, or belief in, outdoor adventure. Unfortunately, no further interviews were able to be arranged after the second interview, and the two that were conducted have not been included in the following analysis because of their limited value.



## **4.4. ANALYSIS**

The method of discourse analysis used was the same for all of the texts studied. Discourse analysis is a qualitative approach through which the researcher looks at different word choices, sentence structure, metaphorical devices that produce particular beliefs, understandings or discourses which are utilised by the texts. Each source was read very closely several times and compared with other sources of the same category (brochures, newspapers, interviews with social workers and interviews with outdoor adventure providers) to identify common and repeated themes. They were also compared across categories to identify differences or similarities between the different type of texts studied.

### **4.4.1 TEXTUAL ANALYSIS**

Interviews had been tape recorded and transcribed fully. Each of these transcripts was critically read several times to identify common themes running through the texts. To cope with the quantity of interview data and to allow it all to be effectively analysed, each theme identified was coded. Each code was given a definition to ensure constancy in interpretation, contributing to the dependability of comparisons and findings, where dependability “includes the consistency with which the same constructs may be matched with the same phenomena over space and time” (Baxter and Eyles 1996: 516). For a list and description of the codes used see appendix 6. Appendix 6.1 shows the codes used for the analysis of outdoor adventure providers interviewed. The analyses of social service interviews showed the use of some of the same codes, but also the introduction of some new themes and the loss of others. These are shown in appendix 6.2.

All interview transcripts were then coded using the software package HyperRESEARCH. This was used simply to draw material from different interviews which had the same code together to ease qualitative analysis. Text that was coded on HyperRESEARCH included sufficient amounts of

surrounding material to give the code its full context and meaning. This was to ensure that extracting the text from the original interviews did not lead to a loss, change or adulteration of its contextual meaning.

For brochures and newspapers, the number of themes identified were fewer, and the total amount of data much less. Computerised coding was in these instances not necessary because the data could be handled efficiently in its original form (see appendices 6.3 and 6.4 for these codes). This had the advantage of totally preserving the sources textual and contextual integrity.

Within a Foucauldian perspective it has been recognised that 'text' cannot be reduced to words:

"Since discourse in general is an aspect of social action of human activity it never makes meaning just with language alone. We cannot speak pure linguistic words or sentences without also speaking with a recognisable personal voice quality that does not affect the sense of the words which we are saying ... We do not in fact usually speak face to face without also making meanings with out movements, gestures, facial expressions and in a host of other symbolic ways that are fully integrated with language in out habits of communication. Even more obviously we cannot write without using a visual system of communication whose signs and symbols always allow us to make more than linguistic meaning. Our printed words must be printed in some type face with or without italics and bolding, underline or capitals, in large point or small point type, with or *sans serif*"

(Lemké 1995: 7 original emphasis).

Brochures and newspapers both use illustrations and emphasis. These have been preserved and their influence acknowledged as much as possible. Emphasis in these sources has been reproduced where it exists, and the effect of highlighting particular perspective has been recognised within the following analysis. The visual images have been analysed separately through visual analysis (see section 4.1).

Because interviews were tape recorded, vocal emphasis could have been used but visual gestures were lost. It was thought that trying to keep track of these gestures during the interview would divert attention from the interview

process, so these were not recorded. When vocal emphasis was strongly marked, this was recorded accordingly on the transcripts and acknowledged in the analysis.

In the analysis that follows the information gained from social workers and outdoor adventure professionals is amalgamated. That is, the following analysis is not organised around noting the differences or similarities between what social workers and outdoor adventure professionals say, because the aim of the study is not to find differences, but to interpret outdoor adventure's role as understood by, and interpreted through, the eyes of all those involved in its provision.

#### **4.4.2 VISUAL ANALYSIS**

Since Saussure's recognition that words do not simply, or accurately represent reality, and subsequent post-structuralist arguments concerning language as a medium of social construction, written texts have become a subject of research (see Jenks 1995). Although remaining integral to communication, the status of language as objective representation has been challenged; semiology and discourse analyses have problematised the ideal of language's correspondence to materiality. The focus on language has also extended to other forms of visual representation which are also recognised to construct rather than to objectively represent reality (in geography for example see Kennedy and Lukinbeal's 1997 work on films, Quoniam's 1988 article on the cultural representation of paintings, Edwards' 1996 work on postcards, and Cosgrove and Daniels 1988). Because of brochures' utilisation of photographic representation, it is important to address their role in cultural construction. It has long been recognised that photographs are texts to be read (Belloff 1985, 1994, Branston and Stafford 1996, Burgin 1990, McQuire 1988, Seluka 1982, Schwartz 1996, Tagg 1988). While photography is ensconced in what Macquire (1998) terms 'photomimesis' - the widespread public belief that photographs are objective recordings of factual events that have been captured and preserved - critics have recognised their rhetorical function. The

camera mechanism unavoidably extracts images from their time/space context, prioritising and isolating some components of a scene as warranting reproduction and perpetuation. That choice is the outcome of social ideals of what is worthy of photography or deliberation over what best suits a photographer's purpose. An objective representation of 'reality' is therefore prohibited both through the mechanism of the photograph and the purposes and circumstances of a picture's conception and interpretation.

Geographers have studied the ideological function of photographic representation. Kirsch (1997) has argued how the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) circulated numerous images of the atom bomb explosion to change public perception of the tests from concern into enjoyment of a 'spectacle' (atomic tests even become a tourist attraction). Widespread circulation of the images familiarised Americans with the idea of atomic testing in their own back-yard, thus rendering it more acceptable, and, because the photographic imagery was confined to the point of explosion, concerns over the effects of the tests (fallout and radioactive poisoning) were attempted to be replaced by a focus on the 'spectacle'. Kirsch therefore argues that photographs served a political function in rendering a source of public concern acceptable. Photographs can also serve as points of resistance as well as serving dominant ideological functions. Kirsch claimed that the very same images developed to make nuclear testing acceptable were later appropriated by anti-bomb movements, and these organisations altered perceptions of the photographs from spectacle to horror (through the association of nuclear weapons with annihilation). In a different study Kinsman (1995) examines the photographic work of Ingrid Pollard to illustrate how photographs of a black woman in scenes of the British countryside highlight and problematise the association of countryside with 'white' occupants and users. There are many other works through which photographs are implicated in power relations by producing particular representations that serve, or contest, particular ideologies and constructions of life (for examples, see Bale 1999, Schwartz 1996, Dann 1996 and Tagg 1988).

It is therefore very important to read the stories that the imagery in outdoor brochures and newspapers are telling, and to interpret the role that these images play in the discourses of leisure and outdoor adventure.

Brochure images were analysed in two ways; through content analysis of pictures and by qualitatively 'reading' the images. Content analysis reveals the most frequently pictured substantive elements. This highlights commonalities in picture composition among brochures. Content analysis is a technique that counts the appearance of codes in pictures. It is normally seen to be an objectified, empiricist, 'quantitative' approach, that has been critiqued (Ericson 1997) for its claims to universal reality. However, by dropping positivistic claims (and ambitions) toward access to reality and the representativeness of findings commonly associated with content analysis research, the shaky philosophical foundations of this approach are eliminated, leaving a methodological approach that is able to analyse a large number of photographic data.

Within quantitative methodology, devising analytic categories should be made without researcher preconceptions (objectivity); the explicit instructions for using categories should ensure any researcher with the same information will produce the same results (replication), and a principled sampling procedure should ensure that any findings can be extrapolated to be representative of totality. I have used a qualitative interpretation of content analysis which lacks any such impossible and undesirable standards. Appreciation of the role of reflexivity in research disallows any claim that my coding system is objective. Instead, it is the effect of my personal values and research on the written text of brochures. The allocation of codes to pictures is also a subjective process. While some codes appear self evident (is a scene indoor or outdoor?), most are not (the facial expression of a person; the measure of wilderness; weather conditions, for example). Thus codes are not obvious, and judgements need to be made using personal interpretations of photographs contents. Yet subjectivity should not be equated with a lack of consistency in the methodological procedure, nor undermine the validity of code allocation. Coding photographs

(as with the written texts), and using a clear and consistent coding strategy (appendix 6.5), ensures that the analysis is consistent.

Content analysis, then, is a method which enables a large number of photographs to be analysed. Pictures in brochures were analysed and common features of the photographs identified. Each of these factors and the variations of these factors was then allocated a code (appendix 5). All the pictures in the brochures were coded. The information was put into a spreadsheet in Microsoft Excel, which enabled easy analysis of the frequency of different codes in all brochures and comparisons between pictures in the different types of brochures.

But photographs are more than the 'sum of their parts', which a content analytic technique suggests. Instead, they have distinctive styles and contain messages that need to be read, not counted (Ericson 1997). Criticisms of the quantitative reductionalist nature of content analysis point to the need to supplement such analysis with an approach that interprets the meanings identifiable within photographs more clearly. The meanings, messages and rhetoric that could be interpreted within photographs were therefore also qualitatively investigated to examine the stories that brochure images tell, and their role in the construction of ideas and the politics of truth.

#### **4.5. USE OF QUOTATIONS AND EXAMPLES**

It is useful to clarify how the quotes and examples reproduced in the following analyses were chosen, to show why, from the large quantities of data available, specific quotations and illustrations were used. Three main priorities informed the choices made: quotations and illustrations must be representative, have high illustrative quality, and should be balanced. First, the quotes used should represent the broad discourses and themes interpreted in the analysis.

Quotations that pointed to a single idea, unsupported by any other interviews, newspapers or brochures, were not included. Because this thesis aims to identify widespread ideas, quotations and illustrations used represent a



pervasive discourse, and, although they may appear as a single example in the text which follows, are one of many sources that embody the idea which is being illustrated, and only one of many possible quotations and illustrations that could have been used in the text. Second, the quotes were chosen that illustrated the point that they were supporting particularly well; that is, they were chosen because they were elucidative, and, where possible, concise. This is to enable the point in question to be illustrated clearly and effectively. Because some sources (especially in interviews) achieved these aims of clearness and conciseness better than others (and because some sources spoke more, and about more things), these may have been cited in the following analysis more than others. However, the third priority which influenced the choice of sources - the concern over balance - has tried to limit this over-use of one particular source. Quotations and illustrations are included from as many interviews, newspapers and brochures as possible, insofar as they fit the previous two priorities. This is to prevent an over-dependence on a few sources. There was a further concern to balance the representation of the two interview groups studied - social workers' and outdoor adventure professional. Where possible, both social workers and outdoor adventure professionals' quotations have been used illustrate the same point. This has been to illustrate the extent of the ideas raised, which are not limited to a particular group but cross professional boundaries, and to show that the choice to amalgamate social workers and outdoor adventure professionals, rather than treat them as two different groups, was justified, because very often they do interpret outdoor adventure in the same way.

It should also be noted that the quotations from interviews have sometimes been changed to make them more readable, as the spoken word does not always easily transfer into the written word. When such changes have been made, the content of the quote has remained intact - it is just the quotation's readability that has been improved.

## **4.6. ETHICAL ISSUES**

Like any research, this study has had to address ethical issues around how information was obtained; how it is analysed and how it is used. The above section touched on the ethics of adopting different positions to gain the richest material possible. Multiple positions were used, but as none of these were false, but were merely reflections of the social dynamics of the situation, I do not believe that they posed an ethical problem, and were in fact unavoidable. I also examined the issue of control over the production of information which is used for analysis. By asking questions, the interviewer does exercise control over the direction of the interview. However, by using a semi-structured approach, the interviewee had the opportunity to express what they felt important about outdoor adventure. Secondly, by sending copies of transcripts for approval or change, the interviewee had influence over what would go forward to the analysis stage. There were then three other areas of this research which posed ethical concerns: the authority of the researcher to impose unintended meanings on the producers, or consumers of sources, my own position in regard to outdoor adventure, and young offenders and the role of young offenders' opinions in this analysis. Each of these are examined.

### **4.6.1 THE MEANINGS OF THE PRODUCERS AND THE MEANINGS OF THE CONSUMERS**

One concern expressed over qualitative analysis is that researchers can impose their own interpretations onto the words of others in ways that sources did not intend. The researcher's voice can overlay and marginalise the voices of the sources. To overcome this, suggestions have been made. Some people have argued that, to understand fully the meanings that written and visual texts have in society, one should look to the source of their production (who made them, with what aims, how were they made, what were the resources available to make them, and also to the point of consumption (how are they interpreted by individuals within society):

“Scott (1990) argues that a researcher should approach a document in terms of three levels of meaning interpretation. First the meanings the author *intended* to produce, second, the *received* meanings as constructed by the audience in differing social situations and third, the *internal* meanings that semioticians exclusively concentrate upon”  
(May 1993: 140 original emphasis).

This reflects an attempt to ensure that research reflects, and is true to, the experiences of producers or consumers of information, and is not simply an imposition of the researcher’s views that may be at odds with, or marginalise others. However, given that each individual interprets texts uniquely, it is impossible to get an understanding that will reflect ‘the consumers’ view. In looking for the general, the individual (which is how people really view the world) is lost. Yet, as has been argued, interpretations are made in the context of social habits of thought which ensure some commonality in understandings, and to which the researcher, as part of society, is exposed to as much as everyone else. The researcher’s opinion is as valid and unique as everyone else’s, and, if clearly positioned as an individual interpretation, the subjective approach that this analysis takes is an effective and ethical form of analysis.

By laying out clearly the process of research, as has been done in this chapter, others can see why and how my research progressed and where my interpretations came from. By positioning it as an individual interpretation not a universal fact or rule, I point out that this is a singular interpretation which does not impose ideas onto the source material, or into the minds of readers, but is one possible viewpoint on the role of outdoor adventure. Basing this analysis solely on my personal interpretation does, however, mean that the analysis is limited in scope. This analysis is individual and cannot claim to represent the interpretations of the same material made by consumers or producers or others in society. It is not a general theory of how outdoor adventure is perceived (an impossibility given the role of individual interpretation), but a personal interpretation of the political role of outdoor adventure.

This subjective approach to research is made even more valid, if the interpretation given can be understood in the context of my own beliefs and experience; that is, if the positionality of the researcher is known.

#### **4.6.2 MY OWN POSITION TOWARDS OUTDOOR ADVENTURE**

Reflexivity and positionality are recognised as important to understand how interpretations are made by different people (Baxter and Eyles 1996). To understand the context of any analysis, the feelings, histories and beliefs that influence people's viewpoints need to be identified. In this section I would like briefly to lay out my position with regards to young offenders and outdoor adventure, so that alongside understanding how the process of research has led to this thesis, my personal views on outdoor adventure can be noted and used to contextualise the following research.

I have been involved in hill walking and climbing for about ten years. Although I would not call myself an 'enthusiast', I have had regular involvement for this period of time. I am a member of a mountaineering club and go out to the hills walking several weekends a year, and often go for longer walking trips away as my summer holidays. During summer I climb outdoors sporadically, though I regularly go wall climbing indoors in the winter months. I believe that I have personally benefited from these outdoor interests through exposure to beautiful landscapes and challenging activities that has affected both my spirituality and my personal development. In the outdoors I experience a peacefulness and uplifting of the spirit which I do not experience anywhere else, and by challenging myself to difficult tasks, I gain enjoyment, and I believe increases in my self confidence and esteem. It also provided social opportunities. This involvement in the outdoor is one part of my personality, as I sometimes define myself as a 'hill walker'; I do not view it as something I do (like running or cooking), but it is something I am.

Having personal experience of the benefits of outdoor activities I am therefore predisposed to believe that it is of value to others, and that young offenders,

like anyone else will benefit from exposure to the activities and the settings in which these take place. However, I have not had any experience of working with young offenders in these settings, so I approached this topic with my own beliefs in outdoor adventure but no real knowledge of its utility in the context of its provision for young offenders.

My view on young offenders could be characterised as liberal. I disagree strongly with the punitive approaches to young offenders, in which they are blamed absolutely for their activities, believing that the social context plays a role in leading people to commit crimes. I believe that for young offenders who come from a disadvantaged background poverty, social alienation, unemployment, dysfunctional families and so on, play a part in predisposing some to crime. However, I believe these are clearly not the causes of criminality (especially as some youths commit crimes who are not exposed to such circumstances). I believe it ultimately comes down to a choice, but a choice made through circumscribed opportunities, and a differential experience of, and so viewpoint on, life. My preferred idea of addressing the issues of offending is to approach it from a rehabilitative rather than punitive stance.

My beliefs about outdoor adventure and young offenders clearly lead me to think that outdoor adventure for rehabilitation of young offenders is a promising approach, but, as mentioned, this is a view based on perceptions not any actual experience. This is a perspective which underlies the following analysis. This analysis has not been undertaken to attempt to 'prove' my beliefs; it is an investigation of the discourses I see surrounding outdoor adventure. However, it would be naive to assume that these quite strongly held beliefs would have had no impact on the interpretations I have made.

#### **4.4.3 THE ABSENCE OF THE VIEWPOINTS OF YOUNG OFFENDERS**

A characteristic aspect of post-structuralist work is a sensitivity towards the viewpoints of those who have previously been marginalised. In studying

perceptions about young offenders, it may seem an oddity that they themselves have been excluded from this analysis. However, as has been argued earlier (section 4.2), this study investigates the discourses around outdoor adventure. Because of their status, young offenders are largely excluded from distributing persuasive and pervasive discourses about themselves or outdoor adventure except in very localised settings, and because of this limited contribution to wide scale interpretations, which carry the authority to influence others beliefs, they have not been used in analysis. There were also further problems in interviewing young offenders; it would be difficult to access young offenders, and to include them would make this research very unwieldy in size.

This absence is, however, problematic. It closes one very important source of discourses; what do the people that experience outdoor adventure as a means of rehabilitation believe and think about it? Furthermore, this exclusion could be argued to further marginalise the position of young offenders. Because of their status, they have been denied their own voice and input into this study. This falsely results in young offenders being treated as passive recipients of discourses with which people view them, instead of recognising they have the agency to react to, resist, concur or produce alternative discourses. This is a criticism which has frequently been attached to Foucault's work, and is also relevant here.

Young offenders views haven't been completely ignored. As mentioned, I went on some courses with young offenders, and I had chance there to talk about their perceptions, but this only informally contributed to the research. By focussing on dominant perceptions, as I have done in this study, I have been able to interpret discourses circulating around 'most' of society and interpret what these differing roles suggest about the perceived role of outdoor adventure. However, this has been done at the expense of allowing young offenders their voice, and contributing to their marginalisation. It also produces a one-sided political picture because the discourses identified (both contrasting and colluding), are those circulating around, in Foucauldian terms, the 'normal' population, whilst the views of 'deviant' have gone unrecognised.



This is a great draw back to this study, and is a clear opportunity for further research to rectify this large omission.

## CHAPTER FIVE: Images of Outdoor Adventure

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

As chapter 1 indicated, the empirical chapters of this thesis (5,6, and 7) investigate how outdoor adventure has been constructed as a leisure activity and examine the effects of this upon the perceptions of outdoor adventure and leisure. They go on to challenge the dominant perspective(s), by suggesting that outdoor adventure can instead be perceived as a form of (Foucauldian) social control, because, as chapter 2 illustrated, other theoretical approaches to leisure - humanistic, structural and structurational - are all, to varying degrees problematic. This chapter focuses upon the first and second of these points - identifying the main discourses which surround outdoor adventure, and examining their effects. The aim of this is to show the ways in which outdoor adventure has been socially constructed and to illustrate how its rehabilitative use (or non-use) is intrinsically linked to these constructions.

It has been argued that leisure can be conceptualised in four different ways: as entertainment, as a site of personal development, as a means to procure meaning in life, and as a tool of social control. Such different perspectives on leisure give rise to variable representations of outdoor adventure. This heterogeneity could simply be an outcome of outdoor adventure's polysemous nature (chapter 2), with representation varying with function. However, instead of engendering acceptance of outdoor adventure's versatility, diverse constructions of outdoor adventure may result in contestation and conflict over its role. Many different functions have been attributed to outdoor adventure (see chapter 4 section 4.3.1), suggesting that contradictions may exist between its various uses: the same activity is constructed as both pleasure (construction as entertainment) and punishment (construction as a rehabilitative sentence). This apparent conflict may lead to outdoor adventure's construction for one purpose undermining its congruity within other contexts. Therefore, although different constructions coexist, these may lack parity in perceptions of validity and

effectiveness. If one function of outdoor adventure has been naturalised as self-evidently or common-sensically the 'right' use of outdoor adventure, then its other functions are problematised and may come to be perceived as just as obviously 'wrong'. This is likely to have implications for the practice as well as perceptions of outdoor adventure.

To discover if outdoor adventure has become naturalised into a particular function, this chapter investigates how outdoor adventure has been constructed within brochures and newspapers. The analysis considers in turn its construction as source of entertainment and as a form of social control. These constructs have been chosen because the media coverage analysed has focussed on either (or both) outdoor adventure's leisure role and its rehabilitative role, suggesting that these two constructs dominate public discourses of outdoor adventure within the context of the debate over the rehabilitation of young offenders. Though other constructions of outdoor adventure do exist (see 4.3.1), these were not included in the media debate over the use of outdoor adventure for young offenders. Alongside discovering how outdoor adventure is constructed in these two ways, the interplay between the two constructions and the relative status of these perspectives is investigated to discover if the apparent versatility of outdoor adventure is celebrated or rejected in favour of one naturalised role.

Because of the apparent opposition between leisure and rehabilitation, this approach not only provides a way to analyse outdoor adventure, it also reflects the social role of leisure. Chapter 3 argued that leisure can be seen as a source of social control, yet here social control appears opposed to, rather than a manifestation of, leisure. By examining the discourses around outdoor adventure, insights may also be possible into what is or is not perceived to be 'leisure'. The naturalised role of 'leisure' may therefore be interpreted alongside the naturalised role of outdoor adventure.

Both brochures and newspapers are used in this analysis for two reasons. Together they provide a broader picture of popular representations of outdoor adventure than either would alone and illustrate how outdoor adventure is

represented in two different contexts (advertising and newspapers). More importantly, brochures and newspapers approach outdoor adventure in different ways. Because brochures aim to 'sell' outdoor adventure they describe its perceived qualities and so provide a clear elucidation of what outdoor adventure is constructed to be and to do (i.e. descriptive discourses). In contrast, newspaper articles do not aim simply to describe the qualities of outdoor adventure (though these are revealed), but through constructing outdoor adventure in one way, and criticising alternative uses of outdoor adventure, newspaper articles recognise the interplay between the leisure and rehabilitative constructions. This approach reveals what outdoor adventure is in terms of its characteristics and functions, but also places limits on its identity, supplementing brochures' descriptive discourses with critical discourses.

This interpretation is underpinned by a Foucauldian analysis of discourse. In what follows texts and images are read to reveal the discourses used in relation to outdoor adventure. It is not, therefore an investigation into 'what is outdoor adventure?' This has been shown to be an impossible task, not only because of the many varieties of outdoor adventure, but because a Foucauldian approach denies the existence of essentialist concepts. It is therefore an analysis of the discourses which people draw upon and utilise in discussions surrounding outdoor adventure. The analysis is Foucauldian in a second sense, because it does not just identify discourses but investigates discursive power relationships. Naturalisation of a particular discourse creates a hegemonic construction of outdoor adventure against which alternative constructions of outdoor adventure are judged. This investigation into the constructed 'true' role of outdoor adventure therefore draws upon Foucault's theorisation of the discursive axis of power, which has been discussed in chapter 3. The discursive power axis determines thoughts and actions by stipulating which knowledges come to be seen as 'true' and which are used as the rule against which all other knowledges are judged. People are then encouraged to conform to these knowledges in disciplinary and/or ethical ways. This approach raises (at least) two questions: what type of knowledge of outdoor adventure dominates this discursive relationship, and comes to be perceived most frequently as 'true', and is this knowledge resisted? Because this study also addresses the perceived role

of leisure, similar questions can also be asked about leisure: what knowledge of leisure comes to be seen as 'true', and is this discourse resisted?

This chapter is divided into three parts. First it analyses how outdoor adventure has been constructed as leisure, and examines which philosophical theorisations of leisure this construction draws upon. The construction of outdoor adventure as a rehabilitation tool for young offenders will then be investigated. Both of these analyses look at the interplay between the two constructions of outdoor adventure (leisure and rehabilitation) alongside identifying the discourses which characterise each. This is because these constructions depend as much on determining what something *is not*, as what it *is*. That is, in advocating its leisure function outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role is refuted, whilst supporters of its rehabilitative role reject outdoor adventure's marginalisation as leisure. This antagonism is a necessary part of both constructions. Examination of the interplay between the constructions also suggests which of these two constructions (leisure or rehabilitation) appears dominant. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the consequence that the naturalised (dominant) role of outdoor adventure has on its rehabilitative function.

## **5.2 OUTDOOR ADVENTURE'S CONSTRUCTION AS TRADITIONAL LEISURE**

It can be argued that, within public discourse, the construction of outdoor adventure as leisure is more widespread than its construction as a rehabilitative tool. Although the newspaper articles studied address the rehabilitative uses of outdoor adventure (chapter 4), most of these articles construct outdoor adventure within the traditional philosophy of leisure (of all the 191 articles found only 31 were sympathetic to the use of outdoor adventure for rehabilitative purposes, the remainder criticised it as a misuse of leisure (see appendix 4)). Furthermore, because the brochures within which rehabilitative outdoor adventure programmes are represented are very specialised, promoting outdoor adventure's rehabilitative function to very specific and limited audiences (social workers, young offenders, corporate and individual

sponsors, or volunteers), they are likely to have a more localised circulation than general outdoor adventure brochures aiming to sell leisure to non-offending children and adults. There is also a much smaller number of rehabilitative programmes than entertainment programmes to produce and circulate brochures (see section 4.3.1).

This suggests that the construction of outdoor adventure as leisure, present within the majority of newspaper coverage and in most brochures for entertainment, forms the most widespread construction of outdoor adventure. There exists an important counter-discourse within this public domain (its construction as a rehabilitative tool), but this is limited in extent, and is more evident in the professional sector (i.e. among outdoor adventure providers and social workers). This counter-discourse is analysed in section 5.3. This section, then, is a discussion of the dominant discourse of outdoor adventure within the public domain (as represented within the sources studied in this thesis): its construction as leisure.

### 5.2.1 TEXTUAL REPRESENTATIONS

Newspapers and brochures were analysed to discover how outdoor adventure was constructed, and this revealed four dominant themes: outdoor adventure was described as enjoyable, as occurring in free-time, as having a subsidiary relation to work and as embodying freedom. These four themes clearly echo traditional leisure theorists such as Dumazedier (1974) and Parker (1971), suggesting that the dominant public construction of outdoor adventure is as residual leisure. These four discourses<sup>7</sup> will be analysed to investigate whether they do, in fact, construct outdoor adventure as residual leisure: that is, does, and how does, outdoor adventure become *associated* with early theorisations of leisure? Alongside this is an investigation into if, and how, outdoor adventure

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<sup>7</sup> Each of these discourses will be illustrated below using newspaper and brochure text and illustrations which are representative of and reflect general representations, but have been chosen as exemplars because of particular succinctness or because they illustrate the discourse especially well.



becomes *dissociated* from other constructions of leisure and from non-leisure. If such association and dissociation strategies are present, it may suggest that outdoor adventure is constructed *only* as residual leisure, making alternative perceptions of outdoor adventure appear mistaken, and therefore making applications of outdoor adventure which aim to do more than provide enjoyment, rest and recuperation, appear inappropriate.

These processes of association and dissociation provide the foundations for this analysis. However, other discursive strategies which marginalise specific viewpoints have been recognised and may compound this construction.

Dominant constructions are created and maintained within social discourses by,

- implicitly accepting one construction and using it as the logical framework around which much reporting is organised, whilst other constructions are simultaneously marginalised (Ersicson et al 1987, 1991, Philo et al 1982, Lee 1992),
- explicitly representing one construct as commonsensically right and others as commonsensically wrong (Ericson et al 1987, 1991, Lemké 1995),
- arguing that one construction is moral, and others are deviant or immoral (Ericson et al 1987), and
- supporting dominant constructions with success, and counter-discourses with failure.

Newspapers and brochures will therefore be analysed through these two ways (direct association between outdoor adventure and leisure in section 5.2.2, and supporting discourses in section 5.2.3) to investigate whether outdoor adventure's dominant construction is as a residual leisure activity and, if so, by which discursive strategies is this achieved.

## 5.2.2 DISCOURSES ASSOCIATING OUTDOOR ADVENTURE WITH LEISURE AND DISASSOCIATING IT FROM REHABILITATION

### 5.2.2.1 ENJOYMENT

Within outdoor adventure brochures enjoyment is invariably emphasised as a descriptor or outcome of the experience. The discourse of enjoyment is captured by a varied lexicon, including terms such as ‘fun’, ‘exciting’ and ‘pleasant’. These are related by their signification of positive and valued affective states and are generalised here under the term ‘enjoyment’. The following quotations illustrate some of the ways that the discourse of enjoyment is used to sell a leisure-based outdoor experience:

“Come with us it’s fun”  
Holiday Adventure 1997: 8.

“Maximum holiday enjoyment”  
Outdoor Adventure 1997: 2.

Brochures do not simply use their own claims to support this view but frequently include quotes from satisfied customers to prove their enjoyability. For example:

““Thank you for a *great* week. Outdoor adventure far surpassed any other centre I have been to and I had one of the *best weeks I have ever had*. The centre itself was great, the food was great, but most of all the people were great’  
Andrew Nicholson 3rd August”  
Outdoor Adventure 1997: 2 emphases added.

““Thoroughly *enjoyed* the week- will definitely go again next year’  
H. Morrissey”  
Camp Beaumont 1997: 1 emphasis added.

Such descriptions of outdoor adventure repeatedly emphasise and reinforce the discourse of enjoyment.

In newspaper articles the discourse of enjoyment is also pervasive and outdoor adventure is always constructed as enjoyable. However, unlike brochures, which cite enjoyment as a positive characteristic of outdoor adventure, in newspapers enjoyment forms the basis of critique. Outdoor adventure is

consistently described as enjoyable, and it is because young offenders enjoy the programmes that newspapers criticise its rehabilitative role. The quote below reflects the majority of newspaper coverage:

“[N]ews that another delinquent has *enjoyed* an expensive holiday at the tax payers’ expense was bound to heighten public scepticism about social service departments”  
(*The Daily Telegraph* 12.8.1994 emphasis added).

Newspaper representation therefore establishes a binary opposition between enjoyment and rehabilitation: because outdoor adventure is widely constructed as enjoyable, newspaper coverage alleges it is an inappropriate form of rehabilitation. This binary opposition is more clearly articulated if the rhetoric of punishment which is present within these articles is also incorporated into the analysis. Young offender programmes, it is argued, should be punitive and involve suffering not enjoyment. Two examples are used here to illustrate the vitriolic tone of many arguments raised by public and politicians which criticise outdoor adventure rehabilitate projects as a misuse of leisure, because it is enjoyable rather than punitive. As *The Daily Mail* (13.11.1994: 2) reported:

“Terry Cicks, MP for Hayes and Harlington said: ‘ He [the young offender] should be birched until the skin is off his backside.’”

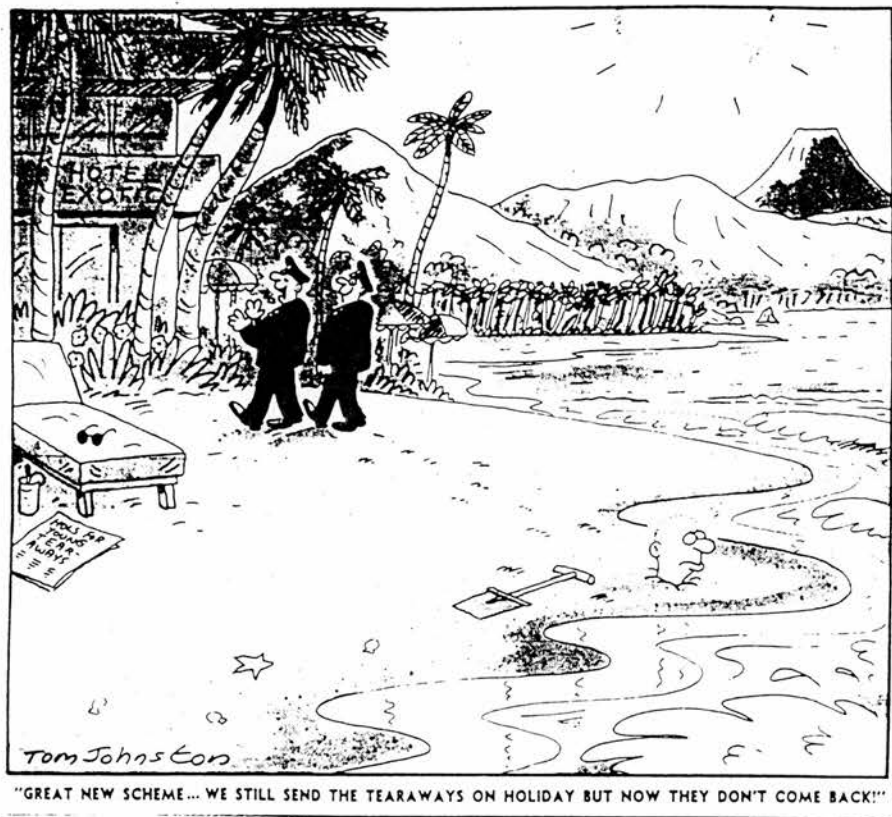
Illustrating public cries for enjoyment to be replaced by suffering is a letter sent to *The Daily Mirror* (31.12.93: 23) which claimed:

“[W]hen I was growing up, anyone who behaved like this thug has faced the birch as a punishment. I suggest a return to old values would have a far greater effect than jaunts abroad”.

This discourse is also illustrated in newspaper cartoons (for example fig. 5.1), which try to recast ‘inappropriate’ enjoyable activity into ‘appropriate’ punishments, involving pain and suffering.

Fig. 5.1 APPROPRIATE PUNISHMENT?

A cartoon taken from The Sun (30.12.94: 5) depicting young offenders' outdoor adventure programs



The opposition between enjoyment and rehabilitation is most clearly exemplified by a judge who sentenced a young offender who had attacked an elderly man, causing severe injuries, to a live in a residential home which provided some outdoor adventure activities. His words illustrate the perceived public concern over providing young offenders with opportunities to participate in enjoyable activities:

“Judge Waley said: ‘What bothers me is the brochure shows all the pleasures on offer. I am not criticising that. But can the community tolerate what he has done by way of a penalty looking forward to canoeing, volley ball and all the sports on offer as a way of serving a sentence? ...This is what bothers me. If you have done something as appalling as this, all these things are made available’”  
(*The Times* 1.4.1994: 3).

Within newspaper articles, enjoyable activities are therefore opposed to, and perceived to be inappropriate as criminal sentences, and because outdoor adventure is perceived as enjoyable it becomes opposed to rehabilitation. The overall argument so far can be summarised diagrammatically .

**Fig. 5.2a: OUTDOOR ADVENTURE’S DICHOTOMIES (1)**

OUTDOOR ADVENTURE -	
Is associated with:	Is opposed to:
LEISURE / PENAL INTERVENTION & REHABILITATION	
ENJOYMENT / NON-ENJOYMENT	

This opposition impinges not only upon the social construction of outdoor adventure; it also affects the social construction of *leisure*. Because the enjoyment inherent to outdoor adventure is used to disqualify outdoor adventure from functions of social control, leisure in general, because it is constructed as enjoyable, must also be seen as disqualified. Though leisure has been associated with theories of social control (chapter 2, section 2.4 and 2.5), many newspaper articles explicitly refute this role. Through newspaper constructions leisure is associated with enjoyment and directly opposed to control. At this point, although it is not clear whether newspaper constructions of (non-controlling) leisure are similar to traditional theories or humanistic theories (chapter 2, section 2.3), leisure is clearly constructed as the

opposite of social control. Of the four theorisations of leisure identified in chapter 2, two - the theories that leisure functions as structural social control, and that leisure achieves social control through agency - are not shared by newspaper constructions of leisure.

#### 5.2.2.2 FREE TIME

The construction of leisure's temporal location outside of work is pervasive within brochures and newspapers. Within brochures outdoor adventure programmes are frequently proclaimed as 'holidays', a status which indicates that these experiences are in some way considered distinct and separate from work life. More specific quotes directly and obviously contrast these programmes against work. In the case of school age clients these leisure experiences are opposed to school time, occurring in the school holidays and breaks, especially the long summer holiday. One outdoor adventure provider even calls itself 'Freetime!' This theme is particularly well captured by Holiday Adventure (1991: 1 emphasis added):

"Holiday Adventure. *Every School Holiday and Half Term*"

This discourse is evident in other brochures aimed at school children, but less explicitly. For example, they refer to camps occurring during the summer rather than explicitly occurring within school holidays:

"Club Ardmore; *Summer* camps for young people"

Club Ardmore 1997: 1 emphasis added

"A fantastic *summer* of fun for children and teenagers"

Camp Beaumont 1997: 1 emphasis added.

Adult oriented adventure courses also contrast productive work time with restful leisure. Outdoor Adventure, for example, also defines itself as a 'holiday', and claims to offer:

"expertly run programmes - *we do the work, you have the break*"

Outdoor Adventure 1997: 2 emphasis added.



The same discourse of free-time is present in newspaper articles. Tabloids variously describe these activities as 'holidays' (*The Daily Mail* 14.6.1993: 17, 25.9.1993: 1), 'hols' (*The Sun* 25.9.1993: 5), 'leave' (*The Daily Mail* 15.6 1993: 3) and 'jaunts' (*The Sun* 27.9.1993: 12, 30.12.1993: 1, *The Daily Mail* 27.9.1993: 5). Broadsheets use similar terminology. *The Times* (30.12. 1993: 15) termed a specially designed course for the rehabilitation of young offenders as an 'action holiday' and a 'break', and called another therapeutic intervention on boats a 'holiday' (17.2.1994: 3). *The Daily Telegraph* (25.9.1993) called a specialist young offender unit's outdoor adventure programme 'a getaway' and a 'jaunt', whilst other programmes were proclaimed as 'holidays for young offenders' (*The Daily Telegraph* 8.1.1994), and *The Observer* (30.12.1995:1) referred to 'holiday camps for criminals'. Even apparently sympathetic reports of the rehabilitative use of outdoor adventure utilise this terminology. A *Daily Telegraph* article (13.3.94) which supported outdoor adventure based rehabilitative programmes for female offenders, stated 'it was no ordinary holiday'.

In addition to programmes being labelled as holidays, newspaper articles reinforce this discourse by making reference to participants' involvement in activities associated with holidays, such as sending postcards ('postcards from the edge of paradise' - *The Daily Mail* 20.12.1993: 4), and by calling participants and their companions holiday makers and 'tourists' (*The Daily Mail* 29.12.1993: 8). A good example of this holiday discourse from *The Daily Mail* (20.12.993: 4 emphasis added) begins:

*"Happy tourists smile at the camera at Egypt's historic Temple of Karnack. It looks like a thousand other souvenir snaps. The holiday makers have no idea that two of their number are starting a £7,000 journey of a lifetime through Africa courtesy of the taxpayer".*

Puns such as 'crooks' tours' (*Daily Mail* 20.12 1993: 4) - a pun on Thomas Cooks travel agency's 'Cooks' tours'- also emphasise the association of rehabilitative programmes with both holidays and time that is separate and distinct from work.

Through these strategies outdoor adventure is clearly associated with holidays, and because holidays are perceived and illustrated as time outside of work, outdoor adventure is in turn constructed as distinct from participants' work based lives and activities. Noticing the perceived *difference* between work and outdoor adventure, however, does not investigate their relationship with each other. This is important to clarify fully exactly how leisure is constructed. The opposition created between enjoyment and rehabilitation suggests that newspaper representations do not perceive leisure to be a means of social control. However, excluding these constructions of leisure still leaves two theories of leisure that newspaper articles may draw on: traditional or humanistic theories (chapter 2, section 2.2 and 2.3). Traditional approaches to leisure envisage a residual relationship between leisure and work, in which leisure is perceived as a reward for work (Parker 1981, Dumazdier 1974). In contrast, humanistic theories tend either to be more critical of work, portraying leisure as the means to experience self-determination unavailable in work (e.g. Harré 1990), or they suggest an equivalence between work and leisure (leisure is found in work and work in leisure (e.g. Wilson 1981, Mansvelt 1997)). Examining the relationship between work and leisure will help establish exactly how leisure, and outdoor adventure, are constructed in newspapers and brochures.

### **5.2.2.3 LEISURE'S RELATIONSHIP TO WORK**

Within brochures outdoor adventure is represented not only as distinct from work, but there is also an implicit suggestion that these breaks are earned through work (a term by which I am referring generally to schoolwork, paid employment and jobs in the home). An individual's participation in outdoor adventure appears primarily justified through their endeavours in education or employment, and is shown to be a break from these. The designation of these activities occurring within individuals' free time suggests that outdoor adventure, and more generally leisure activities - of which outdoor adventure is just a specific example - have a subsidiary relationship to work. The idea of distinct free-time and work-time, with outdoor adventure occurring in the

former, suggests that leisure is a consequence of rather than an alternative to work. A choice is not made between work and leisure; rather they are constructed as unequal partners: once work (the dominant partner) is complete, leisure can be enjoyed. For example, in brochures children are invited to participate in outdoor adventure in their holidays once the 'serious' work of school is over, and for adults outdoor adventure is promoted as a break from work.

The residual relation between work and leisure is most clearly articulated in newspapers. Newspaper articles show how outdoor adventure is constructed as the consequence of hard work and economic contribution:

"For most of the group, this was the end of a trip of a lifetime,  
*probably the result of years of hard saving*"  
(*Daily Mail* 20.12.1993: 4 emphasis added).

In another article:

"[A]t this point everyone is resenting *that they've had to work and save hard to afford their holiday while he is getting it for free.*"

Later in the same article:

"One *hard earned* holiday ends for the group"  
(*The Daily Mirror* 1.1.1994: 18 emphasis added).

Furthermore, one of the (many) criticisms levelled at rehabilitative programmes is that they are free to the participant. For example:

"[A] teenage arsonist is enjoying a string of holidays abroad at public expense"  
(*The Daily Mail* 25.9 1993: 1).

The corollary to this critique is that outdoor adventure should be paid for, and therefore that it is earned through performance in the workplace (or for youths, performance in school). As outdoor adventure is constructed as a reward for productive work behaviour, and is paid for by the fruit of those labours - money - this discourse suggests that participation in outdoor adventure is only justified through work and is therefore perceived as subsidiary to work. Outdoor adventure which is not earned and paid for is correspondingly criticised. The status of outdoor adventure as a reward is particularly well illustrated by two outdoor adventure providers. The first, a provider of angling for inner city boys, explicitly argued that leisure should be a reward for good, productive

behaviour:

“‘[T]here has been a lot of adverse publicity about young offenders being taken on exotic trips as part of their education’, he said. ‘In our case, an angling holiday is usually a reward for some achievement or good behaviour’”  
(*The Scotsman* 4.5.1994).

The second, a provider who has been criticised for taking young offenders on a ski trip, defended his actions and justified the trip through the youths’ efforts during the year, arguing that it was earned:

“We still intend taking the children despite criticism because it is the highlight of their year. They work very hard for 52 weeks of the year, early to bed and early to rise and observing a strict routine. They learn to cook and clean, go to school and lead a normal life”  
(*Daily Telegraph* 23.12.1994).

Outdoor adventure is therefore constructed in ways that prioritise work and marginalise leisure by constructing it primarily as an outcome of, or reward for, work. This means that work is formulated as a necessary precondition for the proper use of outdoor adventure. The perceived status of outdoor adventure as a reward is, in fact, explicitly recognised and used to criticise young offenders’ participation in outdoor adventure in many newspaper articles, which use variations around the theme of ‘rewarding criminal behaviours’ extensively.

For example:

“John Major stepped into the controversy over rehabilitative foreign trips for teenage offenders, denouncing ‘airy-fairy theories’ which appeared to *reward criminal behaviour*”  
(*The Guardian* 8.1.1994: 3).

Outdoor adventure is constructed to have the status of a reward rather than possessing internal coherence and legitimacy. Applied outside of the constructed proper context of rewarding productive behaviour, outdoor adventure participation loses its legitimacy. Therefore, when portrayed as rewarding criminality instead of productivity, outdoor adventure is condemned and the ‘unearned’ enjoyment of outdoor is depicted as a censured anomaly. In the same way that newspapers and brochures see enjoyment as positive for ‘normal’ participants, but problematic for young offenders, outdoor adventure’s status as a reward is appreciated by participants who have earned their experience, but its provision for young offenders is constructed as problematic because they are being rewarded for inappropriate, socially

unproductive, non-work activities. Indeed ‘rewarding’ young offenders with outdoor adventure is argued to be morally wrong, and newspapers argue that criminality should be followed by the opposite of rewards: penalties. There are many examples of criticisms of outdoor adventure rewarding young offenders instead of punishing them. Below, is one illustrative example:

“Mrs Bottomly, Health Secretary, said that she intended to intervene with local authorities so that ‘children involved in wrong doing should not feel rewarded for their actions’. She added ‘what we need are programmes which look a bit more like punishments and a bit less like a holiday’”  
(*Daily Telegraph* 20.12. 1993).

This analysis reveals that newspaper and brochure constructions of outdoor adventure share many similarities with traditional academic perspectives on leisure (so far sharing the discourses of enjoyment, free-time and a residual relationship with work).

It also suggests that a further binary opposition, based around idea of rewards and punishments, exists between outdoor adventure’s leisure and rehabilitation roles. The list of binary oppositions in constructions of outdoor activities can therefore be extended.

**Fig. 5.2b: OUTDOOR ADVENTURE’S DICHOTOMIES (1)**

OUTDOOR ADVENTURE -	
Is associated with:	Is opposed to:
LEISURE / PENAL INTERVENTION & REHABILITATION	
ENJOYMENT / NON-ENJOYMENT	
REWARD / PENALTY	

If, as argued, outdoor adventure has been constructed by newspapers and brochures in a way similar to that envisaged by the traditional academic theories, it should also be characterised by the discourse of freedom which is associated with traditional leisure. This is investigated next.

#### 5.2.2.4 FREEDOM

The concept of freedom *is* embodied in brochure and newspaper representations of outdoor adventure. Generally, these representations show participants of outdoor adventure exercising personal autonomy (i.e. as possessing freedom *to*), and as being able to escape the restrictions and responsibilities of every day life (i.e. freedom *from*). Both of these forms of freedom were recognised within residual theories of leisure. However, this general theme is also inclusive of a variety of specific freedoms: freedom is represented by the *freedom to* (which is illustrated by the freedom to choose activities, and a metaphysical conception of freedom 'to be'), and a *freedom from*, illustrated by an escape from everyday responsibilities (that is, work and taking care of one's own physiological needs) and a freedom from authority. Each of these will be analysed.

The most frequent references to freedom within brochures address participants' ability to choose to do whatever activities they want. Participants have the freedom to choose courses which specialise in one particular activity or can choose from multi-activity courses in which the freedom of choice is most evident. This is true in both child and adult orientated brochures.

"Have a go at everything but spend more time on your favourites - that's the secret of freestyling. We have always believed that "freestylers deserve the freedom to make up their own program each and everyday."

Freetime 1997: 3 - outdoor adventure provider for under 16's

"Our expertly run programs are flexible to make maximum use of conditions and give you further opportunities to develop your skills in any of the sports you particularly enjoyed."

Outdoor Adventure 1997: 7- adult outdoor adventure provider.

This freedom of activity is not limited to adventure activities, but is also experienced in social activities too. Outdoor Adventure (1997: 3), for example, states of the evening social activities:

"Whatever suits you. Join in or just relax"

Newspaper articles also indicate that there is freedom of choice within outdoor adventure programmes, although this discourse is not as extensive as



discourses of enjoyment, free-time and reward. One young offender from Bryn Melyn experienced outdoor adventure through a tour of Africa, a continent that he chose to visit:

“Africa had been the young criminal’s personal choice . He would rather go there than Russia or the US”  
(*Daily Mail* 20.12.1993: 4).

Another article emphasised participants’ abilities to choose programme content:

“They [young offenders] are able to choose from a range of activities - including surfing in Portugal, climbing in the Pyrennes or swimming with dolphins in Ireland”  
(*Daily Mail* 14.6.1993: 17).

Again, like the discourse of enjoyment and reward these quotes do not simply describe outdoor adventure perceived characteristics; they are used as the foundation of the critique of outdoor adventure’s rehabilitative use.

A further source of freedom ‘to’ that is suggested in outdoor adventure is a metaphysical freedom ‘to be’. This discourse is less widespread within brochures than the preceding two, but it is recognised by Outdoor Adventure (1997:2) who suggest that their experiences provide opportunities for unrestricted and uninhibited thought processes. It is an:

“inspiring setting to ‘free the mind’”

This quote can be interpreted in many ways: absolved from the responsibilities of day to day life, participants’ thoughts are able to open up in new directions or be applied to particular issues, undistracted by less wanted thoughts, or even simply to rest; a cognitive break. The freedom offered is not simply a practical freedom to ‘do’, but has a more philosophical metaphysical connotation of freedom to ‘be’. Unrestrained by the conventions and responsibilities of ‘normal’ life, one is able to act, and to think, according to one’s own wishes and desires. This places this construction of outdoor adventure firmly within leisure spaces that are viewed as distinct and separate from everyday life and epitomised by the experience of personal autonomy.

This idea of freedom to be is suggestive of existential interpretations of leisure which suggest that, through leisure, we can experience full autonomy and practice self-determination (chapter 2, section 2.3.1). It is argued that in work and family life one's actions and behaviours are constrained by rules, regulations and needs. In leisure, however, it is possible to create and enjoy one's particular individuality (e.g. Csikszentmihalyi 1981, Harré 1990, Ragheb 1996). The discourse of the 'freedom to be' is not widespread in brochures, however, and not evident at all in newspapers. Although its presence could be argued to move the theoretical basis of outdoor adventure from traditional philosophies of leisure, to those which see leisure as the site in which meaning in life can be experienced, the limited extent of this discourse suggests that the utilisation of this philosophy is not widespread.

Alongside these freedoms *to*, outdoor adventure is constructed as providing freedoms *from* the responsibilities of everyday existence. That leisure is constructed as free from work responsibilities has already been suggested in its alleged occurrence in non-work time and its claimed residual relationship to work. It is also, however, constructed as a freedom from physiological needs, an idea which reflects Parker's (1971) residual theory of leisure, which regards leisure as free not only from work but from physiological demands. Issues of food and safety are the two areas where this freedom is most frequently illustrated. Brochures stress that food is provided (including catering for difficult diets) and that the safety of the participant is guaranteed. This frees the participant from meeting their own physiological requirements. For example:

Food- "The tasty home-cooked meals are varied and plentiful. We also cater for vegetarians and special diets. Full board includes a full English breakfast, packed lunch and three course evening meal"

Outdoor Adventure 1997: 3,

Safety- "Rich Gill, level two surf coach and surf life saving instructor with over 14 years experience, leads the team of qualified and caring instructors- you know you'll be in safe hands"

Outdoor Adventure 1997: 5.

The discourse of freedom from physiological demands is also evident in newspapers, but to a lesser extent. Akass's article 'Valley of the Kings? I'd rather stay in bed' (*Daily Mirror* 1.1.1994: 18) provides the best example. It describes a young offender's outdoor adventure programme in detail, and emphasises how he was looked after by others in terms of his food, transport, and the organisation of his days. For example:

"the group takes a 30-minute boat ride to a strip of sand where the day is spent snorkelling above a stunning coral reef. There is a lunch of fresh fish prepared by the boat crew."

The full article is reproduced in fig. 5.3. Though there is some evidence of the freedom from psychological demands, then, it is much less prevalent in newspapers than the previous discourses.

A last source of freedom through outdoor adventure is a freedom from authorities. Outdoor adventure is suggested to provide ways of escaping determining authority in participants' lives. Brochures utilise this perspective by stressing freedom from traditional authority figures, exemplified in the quote below:

"For kids on the loose; everything you wanted to get up to holiday, but your parents wouldn't let you"  
Club Ardmore 1997:1.

Course leaders are of course present on these programmes, but are constructed in such a way as to suggest that they are friends, and are there to help participants attain their own choices rather than impose actions upon them.

Thus Camp Beaumont (1997: 11) claims:

"[G]roup leaders and monitors are renown for their caring and outgoing personalities. They stay with their groups all day and meals too. It's a bit like having a big sister or brother around".

Authority is then constructed as having been escaped from, or, if present, authority takes the form of friends and helpers that assist participants to achieve what they want and to have fun.

This idea that outdoor adventure provides freedom *from* situates leisure again within the traditional philosophy of leisure. In such theories leisure is not only characterised by feelings of freedom by the participant (freedom to) but is used as a space to rest and recuperate from the demands of work and social obligations (see Cohen 1996b, Wearing 1998). Removing outdoor adventure participants from responsibility and authority enables escape from such pressures and tensions, and allows participants to return to their responsibilities rejuvenated.

Newspaper articles also suggest freedom from authority figures and systems, but do so critically. Adding to the inversion of positive qualities of leisure-based outdoor adventure for 'normal' participants (enjoyment and reward) into problems when clients are young offenders and the aim is rehabilitation, freedom becomes 'a problem' which adds to outdoor adventure's construction as an inappropriate and ineffectual tool. Criticisms are sometime implicit; one participant, for example, was described as 'off the leash' (*Sunday Times* 14.8.1994). Other articles explicitly construct freedom from authority as a problematic feature of outdoor adventure. Whilst on an outdoor programme one youth avoided a scheduled court appearance and newspaper reports suggested that the experience freed that youth from encounters with authority, and thus impeded justice (*Daily Telegraph* 20.12.1993, 29.12.1993, *Daily Mail* 21.2.1993: 2). Other articles report how outdoor adventure participants escaped supervision to commit crimes: one youth burgled chalets (*Daily Mirror* 10.8.1994: 16-17) (*Daily Mirror* 10.8.1994: 16-17) and youths on a separate program vandalised a nearby village (*Sunday Telegraph* 16.6.1996).

These articles suggest that when the freedom of outdoor adventure is experienced by young offenders it is perceived to provide possibilities to escape authority and supervision. This is used to criticise its rehabilitative use by showing the in-appropriateness of freedom, and contrasting this against more traditional, and in these articles, preferred, custodial sentences. The binary opposition constructed by newspapers which separates outdoor adventure from criminal rehabilitation, can therefore be extended again, to recognise an opposition between freedom and constraint (Fig 5.2c). Outdoor adventure

is associated with the former, but as freedom is problematic for young offenders it is argued that they should be constrained.

**Fig. 5.2c: OUTDOOR ADVENTURE’S DICHOTOMIES (1)**

<b>OUTDOOR ADVENTURE -</b>
Is associated with: Is opposed to:
LEISURE / PENAL INTERVENTION & REHABILITATION
ENJOYMENT / NON-ENJOYMENT
REWARD / PENALTY
FREEDOM / CONSTRAINT

This discourse of constraint is clearly evident within newspapers. It is implicitly referred to in the cartoon fig 5.1, in which a youth is constrained via immobilisation in sand. It is also frequently referred to explicitly. In reference to a young boy who escaped supervision on an outdoor adventure programme to burgle chalets, *The Daily Mail* (9.10.1994: 12) asked “Why was a tearaway let loose in the forest?” Referring to a Bryn Melyn participant who had been on an outdoor adventure programme but has since been jailed, *The Daily Mirror* (28.7.1994: 11) claimed “Caged at last!”, and in a concise quote illustrating the opposition between freedom and constraint *The Daily Mail* (13.1.1994:2) claimed:

“offenders like this should be kept under lock and key and not be sent on holiday.”

Newspaper constructions of outdoor adventure once more oppose discourses of leisure to discourses of rehabilitation; what is positive and valued in one is perceived as detrimental in the other.

**Fig 5.3: 'VALLEY OF THE KINGS? I'D RATHER STAY IN BED'**

A newspaper article (Akass, *The Daily Mirror*, 1.1.94: 18-19), criticising the use of outdoor activities to rehabilitate young offenders which illustrates

- a). the way some newspapers articles marginalise supporters of outdoor adventure's rehabilitative application, by ignoring their views completely and producing an unbalanced report.
- b). the visual imagery of newspaper articles which resemble holiday snapshots.



# Valley of the Kings? I'd rather stay in bed today

**H**E sits slumped holding a drink next to his T-shirted "minder"—the boy thief sent on free safari. The 17-year-old teamway, third left in our main picture, spent 90 days on a "charismatic building" freebie. But he couldn't be bothered with the sights. He DICKED OUT of a visit to

Egypt's fabulous Valley of the Kings because he wanted a lie-in. **SKIPPED** a trip to the Awan dam preferring to mope in his hotel, and **SNUBBED** a view of the spectacular Abu Simbel temples because he wanted yet more time in bed.

The youth—who admits more than 30 of fences including burglary, assault and taking cars—was swanning about on a 17-day "therapy" trip to get him away from negative peer group pressure.

But while his fellow holiday makers had spent hundreds of pounds for their break of a lifetime his trip was funded by Gloucestershire social services.

The boy didn't make friends by declaring that he'd sooner be at home with his girlfriend, and by bruvviny of being a ramraider.

The social worker accompanying him made things worse by revealing the youth's criminal background and by claiming the young villain had sailed away £20,000.

And by the end of the trip the slouching thug, travelling under the name of the Bryn Melyn young of fenders centre in Bala, North Wales, was the most hated person in the party. This is the diary of a trip most people dream about, and the boy couldn't care less about.

**DAY 1:** Arrive at a desert camp site near Giza in view of the Pyramids. After a dinner of chicken, beans and salad, the holiday group sit around a table talking politics.

The youth nods occasionally but does not join in conversation. They spend the night in a ridge tent under the stars.

**T**HE group is curious about the link between the boy and case worker Spencer Jacobs. Holidaymaker Richard Drew, 27, of Banbury, Oxfordshire, recalled: "We were intrigued but too polite to ask questions."

**DAY 2:** Journey by air-conditioned coach to the Sinai desert, with a lunch of chicken, rice and salad prepared at the foot of Mount Sinai.

The youth strikes up a friendship with the Egyptian tour cook known as Jimmy.

After dusk, the party mount Mount Sinai on foot when they spend the night huddled under blankets.

The youth complains of pains in his legs caused by an old injury.

**DAY 3:** The group watches the sun rise over the mountain before travelling by coach to visit St Katherine's Monastery and the Burning Bush. Then on to the beach at Nuweiba in the Gulf of Aqaba.

**L**UNCH is followed by a game of beach volleyball and swimming. The evening is spent drinking in beach side bars.

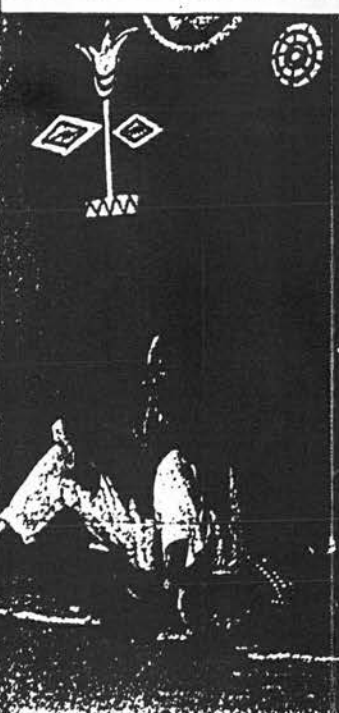
By now, the party is becoming suspicious of the youth. Richard said: "He seemed extremely knowledgeable about jewellery, gold and silver marks."

At one point, he took a lot of interest in a cabinet in one of the hotels we were staying in. "It was decorated with gold leaf, and he said it was worth a few thousand pounds."

"Everyone wanted to know how he knew so much about antiques. But when the tour



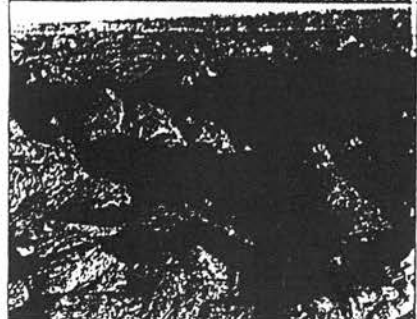
**GRANDEUR:** Mount Sinai where the youth and fellow holidaymakers spent a magical night under the stars



**SNAPPED:** The boy, fourth left in the back row, joins a group photograph—social worker Jacobs is shown third left in the front



**LUXURY:** The group laze aboard one of the feluccas—they lay on blankets as the crew plied them with food and drink



## EXCLUSIVE by BILL AKASS

guide asked him, he just replied: "Dunno—I've done a bit of buying and selling."

Each member of the group places their personal possessions in two tents for the night while they sleep in the open air.

**DAY 4:** The morning is spent lazing on the beach before an afternoon camel safari to a Bedouin campsite.

There, they are entertained and fed by Bedouin tribesmen. The night is spent in tents at the site.

**DAY 5:** After a breakfast of yoghurt, bread and cheese the holiday-

makers return by camel to Nuweiba beach where a coach is waiting.

They travel to the town of Safage, stopping for showers and a chicken lunch on the way.

Astonishingly, the boy tells the group he is descended from canal sypies.

Richard said: "We thought maybe that explained why he knew so much about gold and silver."

**DAY 6:** The group takes a 30-minute boat ride to a strip of sand where the day is spent snorkelling above a stunning coral reef. There is a lunch of

fresh fish prepared by the boat crew. Highlight of the day is the sight of wild dolphins joining in the fun.

Richard said: "The boy really enjoyed this part of the trip. He loved snorkelling."

**I**N the evening, there is a coach ride to Luxor. By now, the youth is bright red with sunburn.

Later, a dinner of "horrible" noodles is followed by drinks by the hotel pool.

**DAY 7:** Shopping in Luxor followed by a horse-drawn carriage ride to Karnak.

The group split up for dinner in town.

spent hard-earned money on the holiday.

The boy is just getting up when the group returns at lunchtime.

**DAY 8:** The boy gets up at 5am for a journey to Edfu temple.

Later in the morning, the group boards two felucca sailing boats for a two-day cruise down the Nile.

The decks are covered in blankets on which the guests lie with food and cool drinks.

The youth joins in a party, and the name "Frank" is mentioned. He also said that the boy apparently had £20,000 booked away in various bank accounts.

This caused a fair bit of annoyance as we'd all

young to remember the programme.

**DAY 10:** Another day lazing on the boat, watching the Nile riverbank slip by.

The boy tells Richard: "To be honest, I'd rather be at home with my girlfriend."

Richard said: "I couldn't believe it."

**T**HE youth adds he doesn't have much interest in foreign travel. He talks a lot about jewellery.

**DAY 11:** The party leaves the boats and takes taxis to the Awan Dam.

The boy doesn't bother with the trip, preferring to stay at the hotel.

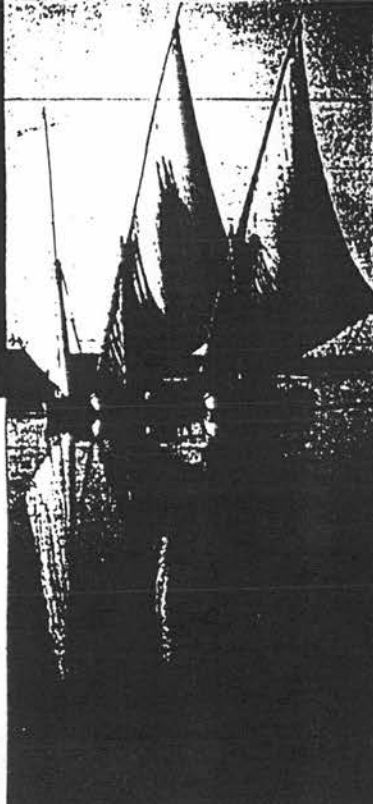
Later, over a snack of cheese sandwiches, he tells Richard and others that he owns five cars, including an Escort XR3i and a Honda Accord.

Asked how he can run them, he replies: "Because I'm a ramraider."

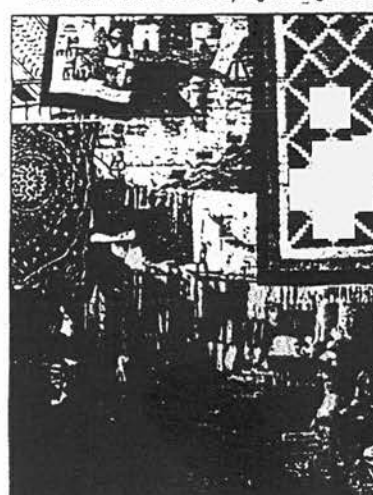
Richard said: "We couldn't tell from his expression whether he was joking or not."

In the evening the youth skips yet another highspot of the itinerary, a sound and light show.

Richard said: "At this point, everyone is resenting that they've had to work and have hard to afford their holiday while he's getting it for free



**ROMANCE:** The party's felucca boats drift gently down the Nile on a two-day sightseeing cruise



**EXOTIC:** But the youth couldn't be bothered with soaking up the colourful Egyptian atmosphere

and can't be bothered to see the sights.

"People are also getting pretty fed up with the suggestion that the boy's problems are all to do with the system."

**DAY 12:** The boy enjoys another lie-in while the group travel to view Abu Simbel.

At lunch, the party boards a first-class sleeper train to Cairo. Chicken dinner is served in luxury on board.

**DAY 13:** Freshly baked croissants are served for breakfast before arrival in Cairo.

After dinner, the group gathers in a rooftop bar for farewell drinks.

The boy joins in dancing and chats happily to other travellers.

**DAY 14:** One hard-earned holiday ends for the group. There are two

exceptions—the boy and his social worker have got NINE more weeks of luxury travel to look forward to.

Richard said: "Over all, I had nothing against the lad. He was quite likeable in some ways."

"But though I agree with the idea of travel being character building, in his case it was just a luxury holiday."

**T**OUR operators The Imaginative Travellers who organised the trip, were equally upset.

Marketing director Rena Brenneke said: "We're a holiday company, not a rehabilitation service."

"Of course, people deserve to be given a chance in life."

"But you don't have to give them free holidays."

### 5.2.2.5 SUMMARY OF THE DISCOURSES OF LEISURE

The four discourses of enjoyment, free-time, the subsidiary relationship to work and freedom within newspapers and brochures reflect the traditional perspective of leisure as espoused by Parker (1981), in which leisure is defined as time outside of, and activities subsidiary to work and physiological obligations, that is free and enjoyable. These discourses therefore construct outdoor adventure as a residual form of leisure that has restricted functions to entertain, to please and to rejuvenate participants. Alternative functions of outdoor adventure (such as its educational utility, its use as a personal development tool, its ability to train people for employment, and its use to address psychological problems) are hidden by newspaper silences, whilst its rehabilitative use is explicitly refuted through binary oppositions. The binary opposition between outdoor adventure and rehabilitation manifests itself in many discourses: enjoyment versus suffering, reward versus penalty and freedom versus constraint. This provides the basis for criticisms; what is good for leisure is constructed as bad for rehabilitation, and, because outdoor adventure is associated with leisure, it is dissociated from and seen as an ineffective tool for the rehabilitation of young offenders.

As a consequence of these silences and refutations, other, more complex perspectives and philosophies on outdoor adventure are ignored. Outdoor adventure's polysemous nature is repudiated in favour of a narrow, singular construction as leisure, and, in turn, the implied function of leisure is restricted to entertainment and recuperation.

This construction causes the use of outdoor adventure in rehabilitating young offenders to appear as a frivolous response to a serious problem. Once outdoor adventure has been narrowly constructed as residual leisure, it appears 'common-sense' that outdoor adventure would be viewed as an inappropriate and ineffective rehabilitation tool because this, and other non-enjoyment based functions, appear beyond its remit and capabilities. Also, because leisure is deemed as separate from serious parts of life, outdoor adventure (constructed as a leisure activity) appears ill suited to address serious issues. Furthermore,

leisure is associated with concepts of individuals' free time, space and choice where autonomy can be exercised. This situates outdoor adventure within private lives of individuals, and as a private activity it appears incongruous when used for public purposes. Lastly, as outdoor adventure is constructed as the site of freedom and pleasure, it appears at to be at odds with social concern over punishing criminality; an idea, which as has been shown, is supported within newspaper articles. Newspapers and brochure constructions of outdoor adventure as residual leisure therefore impinge on the status of outdoor adventure's other functions because these appear to contradict and be incompatible with the constructed primacy of its leisure role.

### **5.2.3 DISCOURSES SUPPORTING OUTDOOR ADVENTURE'S CONSTRUCTION AS LEISURE**

Through strategies of association outdoor adventure is constructed as a leisure activity and as embodying all the characteristics of traditional leisure theory. Through strategies of dissociation it is constructed as opposed to, and perceived to lack the qualities that have been associated with, rehabilitation (i.e. punitive, constraining, and non-enjoyable). This construction of outdoor adventure's identity is strengthened by other discursive strategies. Unlike previous discourses, these do not address the issue 'what is outdoor adventure and what are its qualities?' but instead substantiate the leisure construction by emphasising its veracity. These discourses give weight and authority to its constructed leisure status and in doing so further undermine outdoor adventure's perceived rehabilitative role. There are four main discourses which support the leisure construction in this way and which draw on the discursive strategies identified in section 4.2: non-leisure representations of leisure are marginalised within most newspaper reports, a 'natural' and 'common-sense' status is attributed to outdoor adventure's leisure identity, rehabilitative uses of outdoor adventure are argued to be immoral, and the apparent success of outdoor adventure when used in a leisure context is emphasised, alongside its corresponding failure when used for non-leisure purposes. Each of these

reinforce outdoor adventure's construction as leisure and undermine its rehabilitative use. These are examined in turn.

### **5.2.3.1 THE MARGINALISATION OF REPRESENTATIONS WHICH SUPPORT OUTDOOR ADVENTURE'S REHABILITATIVE FUNCTION**

It is within newspaper representation that the two discourses of leisure and rehabilitation are brought directly and explicitly together. Within these sites advocates of outdoor adventure's rehabilitative use refute its portrayal as leisure, whilst those who represent outdoor activities as leisure condemn its use as a form of rehabilitation. The authority given to each side of this debate, however, is not equal as rehabilitative discourses are consistently fighting to invest themselves with legitimacy in the light of the more dominant, naturalised discourses of leisure.

This is illustrated in the disparity between credibility attributed to criticisms of leisure raised by rehabilitative proponents and visa versa. Although arguments and statements which dispute the construction of outdoor adventure as leisure *are* included in newspapers, the plausibility of these counter-discourses are weakened by a variety of textual strategies. In a criticism of television news, Philo et al (1982) claimed that counter-hegemonic views are undermined by several methods. These include,

- being sandwiched between viewpoints that discredit the criticisms and support the mainstream hegemonic position,
- giving counter-hegemonic viewpoints only a very small segment of coverage,
- by prefixing critical statements with 'he said', the author's stance is distanced from the counter view, and the alternative view is positioned as opinion, in contrast to the mainstream perspective which is presented as a fact, and
- although alternative viewpoints may be included, they have fewer column inches, they do not organise and structure the coverage and arguments, and they are never explored as a rational alternative explanation.



These tactics produce an unbalanced, one sided picture of events which favours hegemonic constructions. All these techniques are observable within the newspaper coverage of the rehabilitative role of outdoor adventure. One article that epitomises these tactics is reproduced in fig 5.4

**Fig 5.4**

**Not so much a holiday: more an ‘individual and intensive therapeutic foreign programme’- As Howard promises to halt exotic trips for young offenders, Mr McNutt’s amazing defence.**

Tough action was promised by the government yesterday to stop foreign adventure trips for teenage offenders at council taxpayers’ expense. The pledge follows *The Daily Mail*’s disclosure that a 17-year-old tearaway, who had been on a £7000 African safari in an attempt to reform him, was re-arrested within days of his return.

Such trips were not holidays, one of the people responsible for him said yesterday. They were ‘individual intensive therapeutic programmes’. Home Secretary Michael Howard, clearly furious, branded those behind the controversial 80-day trip by the offender as ‘having more money than sense’. Health Secretary Virginia Bottomly said new guidelines would ensure children engaged in wrongdoing would not feel rewarded.

(*Daily Mail* 30.12.1993 : 11)

In this example, defence of outdoor adventure’s rehabilitative use has been placed within speech marks to distance this viewpoint from the author’s. The counter-discourse is preceded by the critical perspective embodied by the author and the government, and followed by the politician’s opposing stance, effectively sandwiching, and so reducing the credibility of the statement. The counter-discourse is further weakened by the recognition of the vested interest of the speaker which undermines his perceived independence and reliability. His arguments are labelled as an ‘amazing’ defence, connoting scepticism

and incredulity towards the plausibility of his statements. In many tabloid articles, however, the counter-discourse which supports outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role is missing altogether, effectively silencing any critique. For an example of this see fig 5.3.

In contrast to the marginalisation of those who support outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role, critics of this function are accorded legitimacy and authority within most newspaper coverage. As recognised earlier, the majority of newspaper articles are structured and underpinned by an acceptance of the leisure perspective. Outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role is hence marginalised in terms of the space and legitimacy accorded to it by the majority of critical articles, and by the small number of articles which do support the rehabilitative applications of outdoor adventure.

#### 5.2.3.2 'COMMON-SENSE' LEISURE

The legitimacy of the leisure perspective is reinforced and naturalised through attributing to it the status of 'common-sense' knowledge. Acceptance of the leisure construct leads to alternative viewpoints being explicitly condemned as common-sensically 'wrong' because leisure is constructed as the *only* appropriate use of outdoor activities. Many newspapers make frequent reference to the 'common-sense' status of outdoor adventure's leisure role. For example:

"[T]he Prime Minister yesterday attacked 'airy-fairy theories' for dealing with criminals and said people were sick of young offenders being sent round the world at tax payers expense. At a crimestoppers' lunch at Wansford, Cambridgeshire, Mr Major said: *'It flies in the face of common-sense that you cut crime by appearing to reward those who have committed criminal acts'*" (*The Times* 8.1.1994: 7 emphasis added).

Some reporters go beyond criticising a lack of common-sense and claim that rehabilitative programmes are madness and lunacy:



“[T]he Tory MP for Bury St Edmunds Richard Spring said of the boys stay: ‘The idea that anyone who has behaved as badly as this young person should be given such treat is nonsense. It is a waste of taxpayers money and this sort of practice should stop forthwith.’

The chairman of the Commons Home Affairs select committee, Sir Ivan Lawrence, described the break as an ‘affront to the victims of crime and an affront to society.’ Sir Lawrence said “it’s *lunacy* that our so called guardians of society can permit and encourage this kind of *nonsense* under the guise of therapy”

(*Daily Mail* 9.8.1994: 12 emphasis added).

The common-sense construction of outdoor adventure as leisure therefore provides the basis for, and gives legitimacy to, condemnation of non-leisure applications. However, the above quotes do much more than argue that it is not ‘right’ to use outdoor adventure in this context; they also attempt to undermine its *morality* by constructing rehabilitative outdoor adventure as a reward for misbehaviour. This is examined next.

### 5.2.3.3 A QUESTION OF MORALITY

The use of outdoor adventure as wrong or right revolves not simply around construction of what outdoor adventure is or is not, but around questions of morality. Outdoor adventure is shown in the majority of newspaper coverage to be immoral. Such immorality is based around the supposition that it rewards undeserving young offenders. Valentine (1996), has argued that children have been ‘othered’ by being constructed as ‘devils’, and such a process is evident here; young offenders are shown to be devils and therefore as undeserving of outdoor adventure. This othering is achieved in several ways:

- Young offenders are labelled with many derogatory names including ‘lout’ (*The Sun* 12.8.1994: 11), ‘tearaway’ (*The Times* 30.12.1993: 1), ‘Yob’ (*The Sun* 27.9. 1993: 12), ‘Bad Boys’ (*The Sun* 30.12.1993: 1), ‘Teenage Villains’ (*Daily Mail* 29.12.1993: 1), and ‘thugs’ (*Daily Mirror* 1.1.1994: 17). Even those people close to a child who might be expected to support them, the parents and family for example, are shown to condemn the youths, exacerbating perceptions

of their alleged evil nature:

“The boy’s [young offender’s] mother, a 33 year old divorcee, said she was at her ‘wit’s end’ and hoped the holiday might change her son. She added: ‘he’s an absolute horror, destructive and violent and with no respect for anyone or anything’”

(*Daily Mail* 4.10.1996: 6).

- The persistent nature of their bad behaviour is emphasised,

- numerically:

“[T]he seventeen year old youth who admits more than thirty offences including vandalism and assault was sent on his African trip as part of ‘character building therapy’”

(*Daily Mirror* 29.12.1993: 2),

- or through striking descriptions:

“[I]t took the prosecuting lawyer more than half an hour to outline the list of crimes, which filled six pages of a computer printout”

(*The Daily Mail* 13.1 1994).

- The nastiness of young offenders’ crimes and their uncaring attitudes are accentuated. The following quote illustrates these two facets - atrocious crimes committed by uncaring youths - particularly well:

“Mr Gill had been out for a stroll near his home in Gravesend, Kent, when he was confronted by the boy, then 16, cycling along the footpath. He was repeatedly bludgeoned and suffered multiple injuries. One young witness told how the youth laughed as his victim fell to the ground. James O’Hahony, prosecuting, said Mr Gill needed an operation to remove blood clots from his brain and it was only the skill of the surgeons that saved his life”

(*The Daily Mail* 1.4.1994: 5).

- Young offenders are shown as unwilling to change their behaviours. Not only are they bad, they are happy being bad, and waste opportunities to change. Thus the criminal acts that young offenders commit whilst on rehabilitative programmes are emphasised within newspapers to illustrate that they are undeserving of outdoor adventure, not only because of their allegedly evil nature but because they will not take advantage of the chances to change offered. *The Daily Telegraph* (29.10.1993) claimed:

“[A] young thug was sent on four sunshine holidays at the taxpayers’ expense - but committed a string of offences each time he returned home, a court heard yesterday.”

- These derogatory descriptions of young offenders are also frequently accompanied by noticeable silences over possible causes of offending which recognise external influences (as opposed to concentration upon the internal 'evil' nature of young offenders), which may predispose some to criminal activities (either economic, social or familial), and which might explain and mitigate youths' actions. These factors are widely recognised (e.g. Longford 1993, Graham and Bowling 1995), but are excluded from these newspaper articles, perhaps because they distract attention away from the constructed immorality of such provision. Together these discourses construct young offenders as very bad, even evil, persistent criminals and uncaring youths unwilling to alter their criminal conduct.

The discourse of immorality also constructs *providers* of outdoor adventure as immoral because they choose to reward undeserving youths. Moreover, newspapers claim that this provision is given at the expense of deserving citizens, such as pensioners, hard working youths, and people in need. *The Times* (14.8 1993: 4) referred to pensioners, quoting one MP:

"[W]e never have any proof of success with young offenders and I have pensioners in my constituency who would dearly love a holiday but cannot afford it"  
(for other good examples see *The Daily Telegraph* 9.4.1994, *The Daily Mail* 13.1.1994: 2, 12.23.1994 and *The Daily Mirror* 31.12.1993).

Another newspaper pointed to handicapped people who would like holidays (*The Daily Mirror* 20.8.1994: 11), and other articles referred to the needs of the poor:

"These jaunts [outdoor adventure programs] have provided him with advantages that law-abiding young children can only dream about. This decision [a court decision to return to Bryn Meyln provider of outdoor adventure programs] twists the knife in the wound for disadvantaged families who would dearly love to give their children a holiday"  
(*The Daily Mail* 13.1.1994: 2).

It is frequently suggested that these deprived groups should receive help to go on outdoor adventure programmes (or other types of holidays) before the non-deserving criminals. This highlights the 'evilness' of the young offender by

contrasting it with the 'goodness' of the law-abiding population, but more importantly it provides a basis to condemn providers of outdoor adventure for rewarding criminals at the expense of the deserving and the in-need. For an example of a newspaper article that uses all of these tactics see '*Yes to Malaysian holiday for a tearaway girl: No to seaside caravan trip for disabled boy*' (*Daily Mirror* 20.8.1994: 11, reproduced in fig. 5.5)

By constructing leisure as a reward for good behaviour, as earned, and as enjoyable, and by constructing young offenders as 'evil', outdoor adventure's use for criminal rehabilitation is constructed not simply as a misapplication, but also as morally questionable.

#### **5.2.3.4 THE SUCCESS OF LEISURE AND THE FAILURE OF REHABILITATION**

Newspapers also attempt to consolidate the naturalised assumptions of appropriate and inappropriate use of outdoor adventure with representations of its success and failure within the two different contexts. Alongside the construction of outdoor adventure as leisure are representations of its success within this context. Outdoor adventure is not simply constructed as enjoyable but as providing idealised, utopian experiences. Within newspapers, for example, outdoor adventure experiences are idealised through descriptions of their desirable, rare and valued nature:

"break of a lifetime....a trip most people dream about"  
(*Daily Mirror* 1.1 1994: 18),

-as luxurious and expensive;

"Luxury hotel for young offenders. Twelve young offenders at a privately-run special school in North Wales are living in luxury accommodation at a cost of £21,600 a week"  
(*Sunday Times* 13.6.1993: 5),

-and as a:

"sunshine journey" (*Daily Mail* 21.12.1993: 2).

**Fig 5.5 'YES TO A MALAYSIAN HOLIDAY FOR A TEARAWAY GIRL'**

A newspaper article (*The Daily Mirror* 20.8.1994: 11) which illustrates how the use of outdoor adventure to rehabilitate young offender is constructed as amoral through

- the 'demonisation of young offenders' through the use of derogatory terminology, comparison with 'good' individuals, emphasis upon their wrong doing and 'silences' over possible explanations for their behaviours,
- by showing how outdoor adventure for young offenders takes away provision from more deserving, and needy people.

# YES to Malaysia holiday for a tearaway girl NO to seaside caravan trip for disabled boy

**By MIRROR REPORTER**  
THE council that sent a teenage burglar to Center Parcs refused to give a disabled boy a seaside holiday.

Meanwhile social workers in another county are sending a young tearaway to Malaysia — so she can go to the funeral of a so-called 'relative' she has never even met.

In ESSEX Kay Froebe pleaded with county council social workers to pay for her wheelchair-bound son Joshua, 13, to stay in a caravan.

But they said they could not afford to give Joshua, who has chronic fatigue syndrome, his first holiday in six years.

Divorced Kay, 34, was "shocked" when she heard the council sent a 17-year-old tearaway to Center Parcs in Suffolk, where he raided nine chalets and stole £2,000 worth of property.

**Upset**

Mum of three Kay, of Great Baddow, who lives on £12 a week benefits, said: "It's unfair that children in need who behave do not get anything while hoodlums get free holidays."

Joshua said: "I was very upset. I have never been in trouble — but perhaps if I went ram-raiding in my wheelchair I might get a holiday."

Social services committee chairman Brian Stapleton said: "If this mother writes to me I will have the case investigated at once."

In BUCKS a 15-year-old is flying on a three week holiday to Malaysia while awaiting trial for assaulting a policeman and smashing windows after being found drunk in Chessham town centre.

The girl says she wants to attend the funeral of a 'relative' — her stepfather's father's new wife's brother, whom she has never met.

She will spend two weeks with 'family' and a third sightseeing with her stepfather's father. Her £400 air fare will be paid by social services.

who said last night they believe it will be helpful and beneficial experience."

The girl was taken out of school because of her disruptive behaviour and put in Bucks council's care in April.

Her mother, who cannot be named for legal reasons, said: "If she gets nothing out of life, at least she will get a chance of a lifetime trip."

"This is not just a wild child going on holiday. It's a chance for her to get away from the people she is mixing with."

But Chessham's former mayor Gordon Dixon accused social services of "squandering taxpayers' money."

He said: "It's a slap in the face for hard working, law abiding youngsters who will wonder why they should continue doing their paper rounds or weekend jobs."

Police Sgt Chris Cory said: "I haven't had a holiday this year. I wonder what would happen if I smashed a few windows?"

**Perhaps I should go ram-raiding in my wheelchair**

© Comment — Page 8

In contrast newspaper articles report the failure of outdoor adventure's use for rehabilitative purposes. For example Mark Hooks was sent on an outdoor adventure based therapeutic programme to Africa by Bryn Melyn in 1993. Initial reporting constructed the experience very clearly as a holiday (*The Daily Mail* 21.12.1993: 4) and criticised this use of a so called 'holiday' to rehabilitate a young offender. Further reporting, however, followed the youth's continued criminal career. Despite Bryn Melyn's programme, Mark Hooks remained a prolific offender, and newspapers followed his criminal behaviour for two years, using each new offence with which he was tried to expound upon the failure of outdoor adventure programmes, until he was jailed in 1995<sup>8</sup>. A similar focus upon the failed use of outdoor adventure was illustrated by one youth who committed many crimes whilst on a therapeutic programme (*The Guardian* 8.8.1994: 20, *The Times* 9.8.1994: 5, 8.8.1994: 3).

Though the measurements of failures are problematic (newspapers tend to target singular cases, yet use these instances to disparage the use of outdoor adventure in its entirety), this representation provides support for the construction of outdoor adventure exclusively as leisure, by revealing outdoor adventure's apparent deficiencies within non-leisure applications. As one paper claimed, the recidivism of Mark Hooks 'proved' outdoor adventure's rehabilitative failure:

“[T]he practice of sending young offenders on expensive world tours to put them back on the straight and narrow *is now proved in the clearest terms to be a massive failure*”  
(*The Daily Mail* 29.12.1993: 1 emphasis added).

Some newspapers articles claim that outdoor adventure does not only fail, but that it actually promotes criminal activity: it fails as a deterrent, encourages people to commit crime in the hope that they may get a holiday, or fails to prepare individuals for real life (*The Daily Mail*. 9.2.1996: 6). Outdoor adventure is therefore illustrated as effective within the leisure context

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<sup>8</sup> Following his return from the programme, Mark Hooks was charged with a further offence within two days (*The Times* 29.12.1993: 1). He then faced a series of arrests each of which were reported in the press, including for traffic offences (*The Guardian* 3.3.1994: 2; *The Times* 3.3.1994: 7) and for breaking and entering (*The Times* 6.4.1994: 3). His appearance in court even made the headlines (*The Daily Mail* 26.7.1994: 11), as did his conviction and sentencing to jail (*The Daily Mail* 26.7.1994, *The Daily Telegraph*. 28.7.1994, *The Daily Mirror* 29.12.1994: 3).



(through descriptions of idealised leisure experiences) and ineffective in the rehabilitative context. These constructions therefore reinforce the perception that outdoor adventure is 'naturally' a leisure activity.

#### **5.2.4 VISUAL IMAGERY**

Alongside brochure and newspaper words, imagery adds a further dimension to the construction of outdoor adventure as leisure. The style of brochure and newspaper photography and the substantive content of the images contribute to, reiterate and consolidate the traditional leisure philosophy, by showing that outdoor adventure programmes are enjoyable holidays.

Brochures use a style which is reminiscent of holiday albums. All photographs included in the analysis of brochures are in colour, are the size of photographs obtained from high street photograph developers, are many in number, and in some brochures (Adventure Outdoors, Camp Beaumont) are even 'framed' by a border of contrasting colour (see Appendixes 6 and 7 for the content analysis of these images). They sometimes appear to have been taken by amateurs, because some pictures are blurred, out of focus, under or over-exposed. In terms of content, the majority of pictures show smiling participants, looking straight into the camera captured in the middle of an activity, suggesting impromptu rather than formally posed pictures. The overall impression that these pictures suggest is of an unprofessional photographer who has taken snapshots of holiday experiences, and this conveys the importance of pleasure in outdoor adventure. Some examples are reproduced in fig 5.6, which contains a selection of images taken from these brochures.

Clear parallels can be read between the textual discourse of leisure and the accompanying photographic illustrations. Enjoyable holiday scenes visually supplement the written rhetoric of holidays, time away from normal life, and enjoyment. The use of colour connotes enjoyment and emphasises the ludic quality of the experience:

“[A]s anyone who has ever thought at all about photography will have noticed, popular photographs are in colour, serious photographs are in black and white”  
(Clarke 1997: 93).

Use of montages in brochures (several pictures juxtaposed together creating a pastiche of images) can also be interpreted as a discourse of plenitude and freedom. The multitude of possibilities for enjoyment are shown, and the ease and ability to choose between one or all is suggested by their juxtaposition with each other.

In the same way that the text emphasised the perfect idealised nature of holidays the imagery does the same. Holidays pictured are idealised. The sun is often shining and the participants smiling. The selection of images therefore appear to epitomise utopian expectations rather than illustrate realistic experiences of holidays. By representing the perfect holiday, brochures are not just selling the outdoor adventure experience but are manufacturing and dealing in fantasies. Outdoor adventure is thus being constructed not only as a residual leisure, but as a perfect leisure experience.

To illustrate outdoor adventure programmes for the rehabilitation of young offenders, newspapers also adopt a style of representation reminiscent of holiday albums. A newspaper article was reproduced in fig 5.3 which illustrates how photographs’ size, content and layout resembles holiday snaps. They contain informal group photographs of people enjoying themselves, seeing interesting sights and bathing in the sun (though, due to the nature of newspaper reproduction, these tend to be black and white). The presence of this visual rhetoric, which seems to duplicate that of brochures which sell outdoor adventure for leisure, appears to reinforce the message in most newspapers that outdoor adventure for young offenders is simply a leisure activity; they may provide great holidays - providing enjoyment, and freedom - but the implicit suggestion is that, because of their leisure status, they cannot be effective or appropriate rehabilitative programmes.

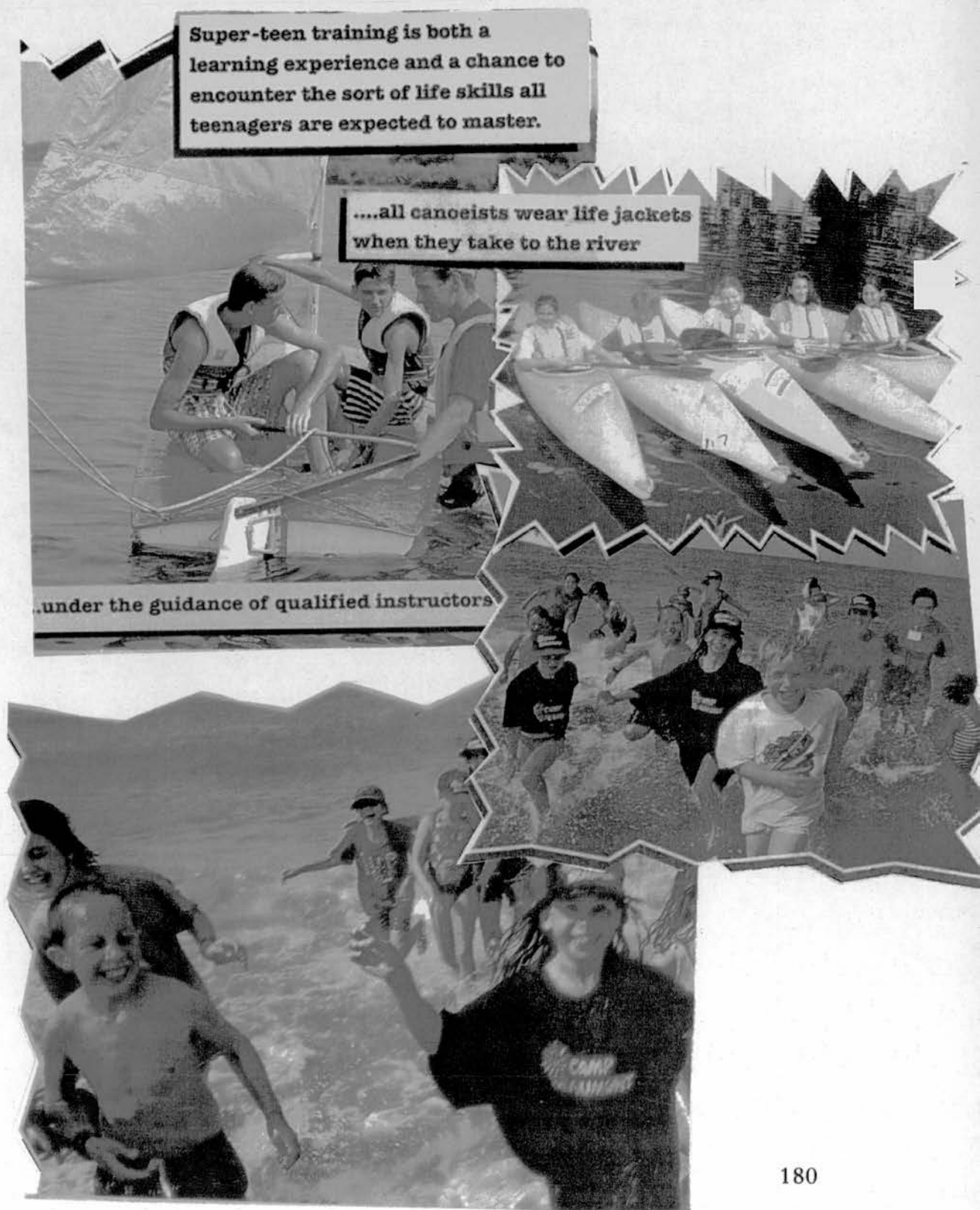
### Fig 5.6: ILLUSTRATIONS OF 'LEISURE'

Some illustrations of the 'holiday album type' photography which characterises the imagery in brochures selling outdoor adventure for entertainment.

These illustrate:

- the use of colour
- the way photographs are 'framed' by contrasting coloured borders,
- illustrations of happy, smiling people engaged in outdoor activities,
- the sunshine and blue skies associated with these programmes,
- the way some photographs are deliberately posed.

Illustrations from Camp Beaumont:

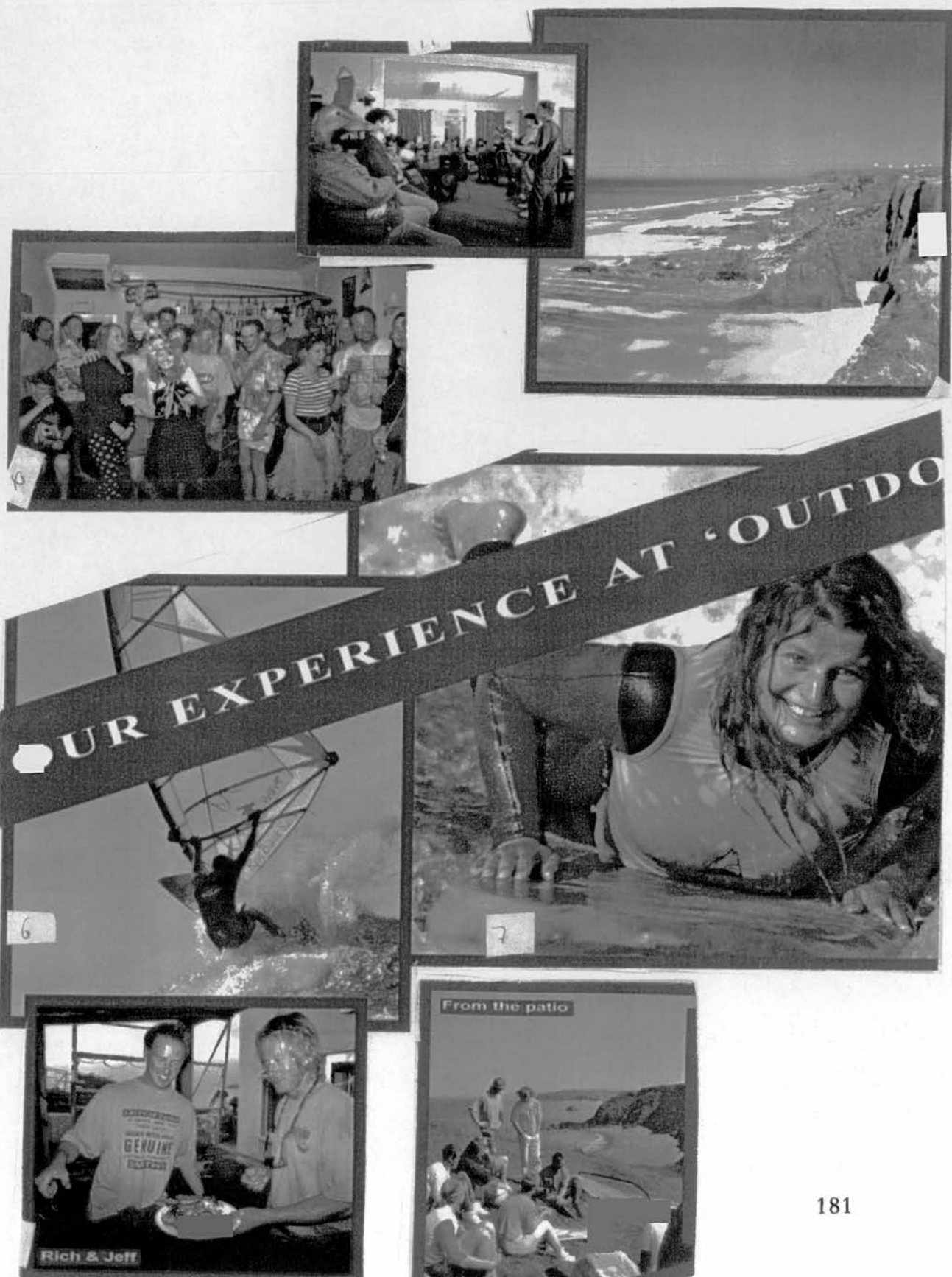


**Fig 5.6 cont.**

Illustrations from Outdoor Adventure.

These illustrate:

- the use of colour,
- the way photographs are 'framed' by contrasting colours,
- illustrations of happy, smiling people engaged in outdoor activities,
- the sunshine and blue skies associated with these programmes,
- and the way some photographs are deliberately posed.





### 5.2.5 SUMMARY TO SECTION

Newspaper articles and brochure representations have been shown to construct outdoor adventure as residual leisure, and this construction is augmented by outdoor adventure's 'common-sense' status as leisure and by criticising its immorality and its practical inefficacy as a rehabilitative tool. This suggests that, although this conception of leisure has been problematised within academia, it remains a pervasive social discourse. Moreover, newspaper debates about outdoor adventure do not simply construct outdoor adventure as residual leisure: they suggest that this is the *natural* role of outdoor adventure, and through this normalisation of the leisure construct deny the legitimacy and utility of suggested rehabilitative roles.

In Foucauldian terms, the discursive systems of outdoor adventure establish leisure as the 'normal' function of outdoor adventure, and the 'true' discourse of leisure is that it embodies freedom, is residual to work and is enjoyable. These are the dominant discursive knowledges against which other conceptions of outdoor adventure and leisure are judged.

Against these dominant discourses which undermine the rehabilitative role of outdoor adventure, how do advocates of this role support this provision? Foucault recognised that resistance to dominant power relations is always possible (chapter 3), and this is illustrated here by an important counter-discourse which attempts to challenge outdoor adventure's 'natural' leisure status. Because so many criticisms of outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role are based in its leisure status, resisting outdoor adventure's leisure identity would undermine those critiques. The next section looks at how supporters of outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role suggest a counter-discourse, challenging the dominant discourse by repudiating outdoor adventure's leisure status. It also examines the repercussions of this tactic upon the social construction of outdoor adventure, and of leisure.

## **5.3 DISCOURSES SUPPORTING THE USE OF OUTDOOR ADVENTURE TO REHABILITATE YOUNG OFFENDERS : INTRODUCTION**

In contrast to brochures advertising outdoor adventure for entertainment and the majority of newspaper coverage, brochures advertising outdoor adventure for rehabilitative purposes, and a minority of newspapers, represent outdoor adventure very differently as an effective intervention that deters criminal activities and recidivism. This counter-discourse consists of disclaimers against the construction of outdoor adventure as residual leisure, alongside expositions of its preventative and rehabilitative role. It therefore opposes the normalisation of outdoor adventure as leisure and suggests an alternative conception of outdoor adventure as a useful rehabilitative intervention.

### **5.3.1 TEXTUAL REPRESENTATION**

Outdoor adventure's naturalised leisure role is resisted, and its rehabilitative role supported via four textual strategies,

- by explicitly rejecting leisure terminology and discourses (for example the idea that outdoor adventure is a 'holiday' and is enjoyable),
- by replacing this with rehabilitative vocabulary,
- by using discourses which promote outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role (i.e. descriptive discourses), and lastly,
- by using these descriptive discourse to serve a differential role by latently inverting leisure discourses.

These descriptive and differential discourses include: the discourse of challenge (an inversion of the discourse of outdoor adventure's status as reward), the discourse of restriction (an inversion of leisure's association with freedom), the discourse of responsibility (an inversion of leisure's relationship to work), the discourse of the needs of the victims (this addresses the immorality with which outdoor adventure rehabilitative providers have been accused), and the discourse of success (which refutes the allegations of practical inefficiency and



suggests that non-leisure uses of outdoor adventure are not only possible but effective). Thus, whilst propounding a very different construction of outdoor adventure, this counter-discourse involves implicit engagement with, and contradiction of, the perceived 'true' role of outdoor adventure: leisure.

### **5.3.1.1 REJECTION AND REPLACEMENT OF THE DISCOURSES OF TRADITIONAL LEISURE**

Advocates of outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role reject leisure oriented discourses. This is most clearly seen in the renouncement of the term 'holiday':

“[I]t is important that these programmes are not regarded as holidays simply because they sometimes take place at locations abroad and involve enjoyable activity. They are highly structured, disciplined and often very confrontational experiences - certainly not holidays”

Bryn Melyn: 1997: 5.

Media accusations that outdoor adventure based programmes provide 'holidays', and rehabilitative brochures' rebuttal of this criticism, indicate how dialogue with critics distances the rehabilitative use of outdoor adventure from leisure. Two quotes below illustrate this point very succinctly. First, from a brochure, and second, in a newspaper article, a Sail Training Association representative was also quoted as saying:

“This is not a holiday...It is very hard work”

(*The Daily Telegraph* 14.8.1994).

The pre-eminence of the discourse of 'enjoyment', and associated positive experiences of excitement and adventure which characterised the representation of outdoor adventure as leisure, are also markedly attenuated in these sources. Though enjoyment is recognised as occurring it is not constructed as the primary goal of the experience. For example, *The Sunday Times* (21.11.1994: 9) cited the founder of Bryn Melyn, Brendan McNutt:

“[I]t certainly isn't a holiday', McNutt said. 'That is not to say there are not aspects of it which are enjoyable. There may be a particularly British problem over this, but why should getting better have to hurt?’”

Outdoor adventure's construction as a rehabilitative tool therefore takes great care to dispute and distance itself from the leisure discourses identified earlier.

Another strategy, the adoption of a distinctive lexicon, establishes and affirms the distinct nature of outdoor adventure as rehabilitation; outdoor adventure is not a 'holiday', instead it is termed a 'course', 'residential stay' or 'programme'. Within brochures, for example, the Airborne Initiative offers 'a balanced training programme' (1997: 2), Youth at Risk provides 'community programmes' (1997: 1), Fairbridge a 'basic course' (1997: 2), and the Progress Initiative includes 'motivational programmes' (1997: 9). Supportive newspaper articles' descriptions of outdoor activity courses include 'a tough training camp' (*The Scotsman* 7.6.1994), 'challenging breaks' (*The Scotsman* 21.2.1994) and a 'disciplined and structured course' (*The Mail on Sunday* 27.2.1994: 18). Replacing leisure terminology of 'holidays' with other descriptors distances rehabilitative provision from programmes which have a leisure orientation.

In addition to replacing leisure terminology, the counter-discourse describes outdoor adventure in ways that promote its rehabilitative qualities, and which also serve to differentiate further between leisure and rehabilitation by inverting leisure discourses. These discourses include; challenge, restriction, responsibility, needs of victims and of success. Each of these is investigated below.

### **5.3.1.2 CHALLENGE : THE INVERSION OF THE DISCOURSES OF ENJOYMENT AND REWARD**

The discourse of challenge is created through the use of a variety of words which connote challenge. This is excellently illustrated in the following quotes, first from a brochure:

“A *challenging* week long residential course enables participants to conquer fear and learn to respect themselves and relate to others. Through *arduous* indoor and outdoor activities. The residential course is intended to build an environment of trust, love and appreciation....The days are *deliberately long and tough*, designed to demonstrate to young people the points at which they give up”  
(Youth At Risk 1997: 5 emphasis added).

Second from a newspaper, which describes the Airborne Initiative as:

“[A] *tough training camp* for young offenders opened for business yesterday. The first batch of sixteen arrived at the Glenconnar Centre at Abington, for a first meeting with *former paratroopers and Special Air Service men* who will be their instructors. The youths will undergo *rigorous* outdoor adventure activities”  
(*The Scotsman* 7.6.1994 emphasis added).

The challenge experienced is constructed as multi-faceted, consisting of both physical and mental demands:

“programmes provide a level of challenge and activity appropriate to participant needs and abilities. We aim to provide social, psychological and emotional challenge as well as the physical aspect”  
(Venture Scotland 1997:2).

Challenge is a particularly useful counter-discourse because the demanding and tasking connotations of the word challenge clearly differentiates rehabilitative oriented programmes from leisure discourses. The focus on challenge qualifies the discourse of enjoyment; enjoyment may be derived from achieving the activities, but those activities themselves are demanding and challenging, not simply ‘enjoyable’. The emphasis on challenge also suggests that outdoor adventure inherently contains effort and hard work; therefore, any consequent enjoyment is not, as leisure advocates argue an ill-deserved reward, but is something earned within the context of the outdoor adventure course itself.

Some newspapers even associate outdoor adventure, not with leisure but with criminal sentences such as boot-camps and prisons which are perceived as punitive:

“The work for those on SS Renaissance will be hard, purposeful and in no way a holiday. *It will be physically tougher than a boot camp*”  
(*The Daily Telegraph* 1.5.1995, emphasis added).

“For the young offenders of the Airborne Initiative, there is little time for anything except work and sleep. They have chosen this tough course in the Scottish borders rather than go to prison and, judging by the experience of those who survive, this is a short, sharp shock that works”  
(*The Sunday Telegraph* 16.6.1996).

By positing outdoor adventure as tough, newspaper representations construct outdoor adventure as a penalty rather than a reward. The counter-discourse therefore uses the same binary oppositions utilised by the leisure discourse, but to support rather than to undermine outdoor adventure’s rehabilitative role. Within this construction leisure and rehabilitation remain opposed, as do rewards and penalties, but outdoor adventure is associated with rehabilitation and its qualities, and is constructed as antithetical to leisure and its qualities. This is shown in figure 5.7a.

**Fig 5.7a: OUTDOOR ADVENTURE’S DICHOTOMIES (2)**

OUTDOOR ADVENTURE -			
Is associated with:		Is opposed to:	
REHABILITATION	/	LEISURE	
PENALTY	/	REWARD	

Through the discourse of challenge, outdoor adventure becomes associated with the qualities that leisure advocates attributed to criminal intervention and criticised outdoor adventure for lacking. Although this effectively situates outdoor adventure as rehabilitation, this strategy suggests that the traditional ideas of what is leisure remain dominant.

**5.3.1.3 RESTRICTION: THE INVERSION OF FREEDOM**

The promotion of outdoor adventure as a rehabilitative tool also differentiates itself from outdoor adventure’s naturalised leisure role by inverting the discourse of freedom. Outdoor adventure is shown not to provide opportunities for the exercise of individual freedom and autonomy; instead, it is restrictive, setting rules and boundaries that determine and limit action. Outdoor

adventure's association with freedom is therefore replaced in brochures by a focus on discipline and restrictions:

“[I]t [outdoor adventure], provides disciplined opportunities to develop personally, socially and co operative working skills, promote self control and build self esteem”  
(Airborne Initiative 1997: 3)

And in newspapers Bryn Melyn was described as having:

“a strict regime. There is no smoking indoors, no television, and a demanding timetable with chores to fit round the programme of counselling, activity, education and ordinary life skills”  
(*Daily Telegraph* 30.12.1993).

The discourse of discipline has two effects. It aligns outdoor adventure with criminal sentences which involve the loss of liberty, and so constructs this provision as similar to more traditional penal interventions, such as supervision orders or internment, which are perceived in the press as having more public legitimacy. As one advocate of outdoor adventure argued:

“Because of all the controversy [about young offenders going on outdoor activity breaks] a groundswell of opinion is demanding a return to punitive and repressive responses”  
(*The Scotsman*. 21.2.1994).

Second, it again suggests that the leisure and the rehabilitative uses of outdoor adventure are antithetical. The emphasis upon discipline, restriction and constraint is the counterpoint to the leisure construction's emphasis on freedom. As with the discourse of challenge, this defensive pairing accepts the division and the qualities attributed to leisure and criminal intervention utilised by the leisure construction, but argues that outdoor adventure possess the qualities associated with criminal intervention, and is therefore opposed to leisure (see fig. 5.7b).

**Fig 5. 7b: OUTDOOR ADVENTURE’S DICHOTOMIES (2)**

OUTDOOR ADVENTURE -			
Is associated with:		Is opposed to:	
REHABILITATION	/	LEISURE	
PENALTY	/	REWARD	
CONSTRAINT	/	FREEDOM	

**5.3.1.4 RESPONSIBILITY: INVERTING THE DISCOURSE OF FREEDOM**

Responsibility (which participants are offered an opportunity to escape in leisure oriented outdoor adventure) are emphasised as lying directly with the participant in its rehabilitative role. Youth At Risk (1997) directly acknowledge the importance of this by recognising responsibility as one of its four core principles (others include possibility, self-expression and community). Newspapers also comment on outdoor adventure’s impact upon participant responsibility:

“in terms of tackling building relationships, tackling difficulties and taking personal responsibility for their actions, the courses can intervene successfully”  
(*The Scotsman* 30.5.1994).

The discourse of responsibility, like freedom has many specific varieties, but it can be generalised as the participant becoming able to accept that they have control over their own actions. More specific examples include responsibility for,

- choosing to participate in rehabilitative programmes:  
“all young people joining the community make a positive choice to do so. Whatever difficulties they have faced in the past , we will consider accepting any young person who has reached a stage in their development where they want help to change aspects of their behaviour which are causing them difficulty. Young people must be able to give some degree of commitment to the process of change. We cannot and would not seek to, impose change on anyone, we can only work in partnership with young people who have chosen to seek to create a better quality of life” (Bryn Melyn 1997: 1).



- for the input of effort and ideas:  
 “The young person coming to the crisis centre must agree to participate in the programme of activities and sign to that effect”  
 (Corvedale Care 1997: 6).
- for day to day living on the course,  
 “They [young offenders] must cook, wash and clean themselves and are sent to work on local farms, shops and restaurants, accompanied by a project guide”  
 (*The Guardian* 15.1.1994: 21), and
- for the success or failure of the course, and of their own actions after completing the course:  
 “At the end of the residential, the young people make three commitments to change. These have included giving up drugs, getting a job, going back to study, repairing family relationships and so on”  
 (Youth At Risk 1997: 5).

This discourse can therefore be seen to emphasise outdoor adventure programmes’ potential for success because, if these programmes can install responsibility into young offenders, recidivism may be reduced - an idea supported by governmental research (Graham and Bowling 1995). Also, by stressing that responsibility is the province of the participant, a quality attributed to leisure (the freedom from responsibilities) is once more rejected. The discourse of responsibility therefore contributes to the construction of rehabilitative programmes by describing their specific qualities (it encourages participants to exercise responsibility in many parts of their lives, and can help reduce recidivism), and by differentiating outdoor adventure from leisure.

### **5.3.1.5 VICTIMS: THE INVERSION OF IMMORALITY**

The majority of newspaper articles criticise outdoor adventure’s rehabilitative application, and young offenders, on the basis of their alleged immorality. Supporters of outdoor adventure’s rehabilitative use engage with and criticise these perceptions by creating a different picture of both young offenders and

outdoor adventure provisions, which emphasises respectively their needs, and its morality.

Young offenders are depicted as culpable for their crimes, but they are simultaneously shown to be victims of forces beyond their control (which may be social, economic or familial). Bryn Melyn (1997: 1) claims to offer:

“care to teenagers up to 19 years who will have typically suffered abuse within their families, either emotional, physical or sexual, and experienced numerous placement breakdowns and changes of environment and carers. These young people may have developed a range of ‘difficult’ behaviours as a way of coping with their fear and confusion ranging from mildly anti social or criminal through to aggressive and self abusive actions”.

Newspapers also construct young offenders as victims. This is most concisely argued in the quote below which takes one paper’s criticism of outdoor adventure’s rehabilitative role to task:

“Perhaps the Sun’s journalist cannot see behind the aggressive posturing of teenagers the frightened faces of the abused, exploited, deprived, abandoned, tortured children in whose experiences ‘offensive’ behaviour is rooted”  
(*The Guardian*. 28.12.1994: 19).

This discourse is extensive, and is supported by academic research which has identified poor social, economic, educational and familial circumstances as predictors of criminal activity (Barrett 1996, Longford 1993, Graham and Bowling 1995), and which gives the victim construct legitimacy and authority. Moreover, this discourse not only mediates culpability, it also equates young offenders with victims of other circumstances for which the rehabilitative use of outdoor adventure rehabilitation has long been accepted; for example, for victims of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (Hyer et al 1996), rape (Asher et al 1994, Levine 1994), disabilities such as diabetes (Herskowitz 1990), and addictions (Kennedy & Masahiko 1993). Drawing such parallels problematises the image of young offenders as undeserving of therapy and the association of young offenders with various victims’ attempts at recovery also implies that young offenders, via outdoor adventure rehabilitative programmes, can be cured of their delinquent or law breaking habits.

A second theme of the victim discourse is society's wrongful victimisation of young offenders after their conviction. By inappropriate punishment, young offenders are condemned to a life of crime. Youth At Risk, for example, says of its ideal that all young children have a worthwhile future:

“[T]hat sentiment can easily be lost when dealing with young offenders and youth in local authority care. When young children behave badly - when they vandalise, commit burglaries and muggings - we often have a natural emotional reaction. We want revenge. We want to lock them up and throw away the key. We want the problem to go away and stay away but it never does. 70 % of all those sent to young offender institutions still re-offend within two years of their release”  
(Youth At Risk 1997:1).

This appeal to society's sense of justice imposes positive value judgements on the use of outdoor adventure.

These two aspects of the victim discourse, that youths offend because they are victims of circumstance and are further victimised because of mistaken attitudes to criminal sentences, combine to promote a strong moral argument for the use of outdoor adventure for rehabilitative purposes. Outdoor adventure is shown to be a legitimate approach to resolving social and personal problems, which is both successful and reflective of an enlightened approach to social justice. It also redresses the claimed immorality (rewarding young offenders). This is partially done by reconfiguring outdoor adventure so it is no longer constructed as a reward (section 3.1.2), but is completed by illustrating young offenders as victims and as in need, instead of 'evil'. In this way young offenders are not longer constructed as 'undeserving' of outdoor adventure. Because outdoor adventure promises to be an effective intervention that can assist society's victims, it is constructed as having a sound moral base.

#### **5.3.1.6 SUCCESS: THE INVERSION OF FAILURE**

Outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role has been suggested by leisure representations to be a failure; practically as well as morally unsound. Advocates of outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role invert this discourse by

giving evidence of its success. Success is measured qualitatively, through quotations from supporters, and quantitatively, through scientific evidence. Quotes are cited from participants, social and probation workers, police, and other criminological professionals. This is best illustrated through Youth at Risk, which makes extensive use of this tactic:

“I have yet to identify a young person who hasn’t had a positive experience. The programme can alter, fundamentally, the direction of a young person’s life.

Steve Howes, *Team Leader for Drugs and Violence Services*,  
London Borough of Enfield”  
(1997:1 emphasis added).

“Youth At Risk is directly addressing the most prominent concern of residents in high risk communities - alienated youth. The programme offers constructive and sustained help to these young people and equally importantly it involves the wider community as volunteer mentors

Nigel Whiskin, *Chief Executive, Crime Concern*”  
(1997: 6 emphasis added).

“I support the aims and objectives of the programme and admire the dedication and enthusiasm of all concerned”

Sir Paul Condon, *Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police*”  
(1997: 7 emphasis added).

“It’s helped me do the things I really wanted to do - like get a job  
Participant in Youth At Risk programme”  
(1997: 4).

These quotations derive persuasive power from the direct experience of those quoted or from the positions of authority from which they speak. Claims of success are also supplemented by scientific and academic evidence of success, which carries the impression of trustworthy, independent, proven findings. This technocratic discourse supplements moral and value based arguments, and the evidence of participants and involved professionals by providing quantitative proof of desired outcomes (reduction in offending rates) and linking these directly to the effects of outdoor adventure. Thus:

**“Independent American surveys show that Youth At Risk’s alternative approach to young people works.**

In one year, compared with ‘control groups’, there is:

- a 70% reduction in truancy by those of school age
  - a 50% decrease in the number of arrests
  - a 30% reduction in the use of recreational drugs
  - a marked improvement in relationships with parents
  - a three fold increase in hours worked by those in employment”
- (Youth At Risk 1997: 6).

Newspapers also emphasise quantified success rates:

“[T]he success rates on preventing re-offending are much higher than in any secure accommodation. Eighty percent of the young offenders who go to Bryn Melyn do not re-offend, whereas seventy percent of those who have been detained in secure accommodation do”

(*The Guardian* 1.1.1994: 22, see also *The Daily Telegraph* 30.12.1993).

The varied extent and authoritative nature of support for the rehabilitative use of outdoor adventure differs from the methods used to support the leisure discourse (which relies upon unsupported statements of fact and which only quote participants). This suggests that the construction of outdoor adventure as rehabilitation is perceived to need more justification than its construction as leisure. The necessity to ‘work harder’ to gain acceptance as rehabilitation appears to support the claim that outdoor adventure is perceived ‘naturally’ as leisure. However, this counter-discourse of success refutes criticisms of outdoor adventure’s practical inefficiency and failings which were emphasised by the leisure construction, instead positing outdoor adventure as a successful rehabilitative tool.

### **5.3.2 VISUAL REPRESENTATION**

Rehabilitative brochures use photographs adopting a documentary style which can be summarised as professional in quality, aesthetically beautiful, large scale (often taking up a quarter of a page or more) and illustrations produced as single pictures rather than as montages. They are often, though not always, black and white (Appendix 7). In terms of content these pictures are

characterised by scenes of people engrossed in their lives, oblivious to the presence of the camera, and include distressing scenes of people apparently in pain or anger, fighting to overcome bad behaviour through traumatic, intensive activities. In many of the photographs, for example, individuals look unhappy. The documentary style then contrasts with the holiday snapshot style of leisure orientated representation, acting as a further binary pairing, yet documentary style connotes much more than difference (for some examples see Fig 5.8).

Clarke (1997) argues that the documentary photograph is publicly analogous to truthful photography. Even though it is recognised that cameras can and do lie documentary photography is, he argues, publicly perceived as exempt from disguise. Documentary's democratic function of informing people on important serious issues means that the manipulation of meaning permissible, even expected, in entertainment and advertising is presumed to have no place in the documentative function (see also Tagg 1988). Moreover, black and white imagery is also invested with truth status (Beloff 1985).

Although in this Foucauldian account, the status of truth is recognised as a construction and not as any revelation of ontological facts, by adopting this mantle of truth documentary images become to be perceived as both important and real. Outdoor adventure brochures' use of documentary style photography can therefore potentially influence their readers' thoughts and perceptions in at least two ways. It situates outdoor adventure within the realm of serious parts of life, emphasising its ability to address serious issues. Documentary photography is therefore part of the refutation of the construction of outdoor adventure as frivolous. Second, documentary photographs suggest reform; they do not simply show what 'is', but reveal this with the intention that the problems should be addressed (Clarke 1997, Tagg 1988). By exposing unacceptable situations to the public, documentary photographs are a morally driven vehicle of reform. By using moralistic overtones brochures regain the moral ground from media outrage and criticisms of the misuse of leisure, and also emphasises the need to address and reduce offending. By showing the unhappiness of youths caught in offending, or deemed at risk from offending, these pictures are



## FIG 5.8: ILLUSTRATIONS OF REHABILITATION

Some illustrations from brochures advertising outdoor adventure for rehabilitative programmes.

These illustrate:

- the use of black and white instead of colour
- the large scale of the pictures
- the serious, or unhappy faces of participants
- activities in which participants are engaged in look hard and challenging rather than enjoyable.

Illustrations from Youth at Risk Brochure (1997).

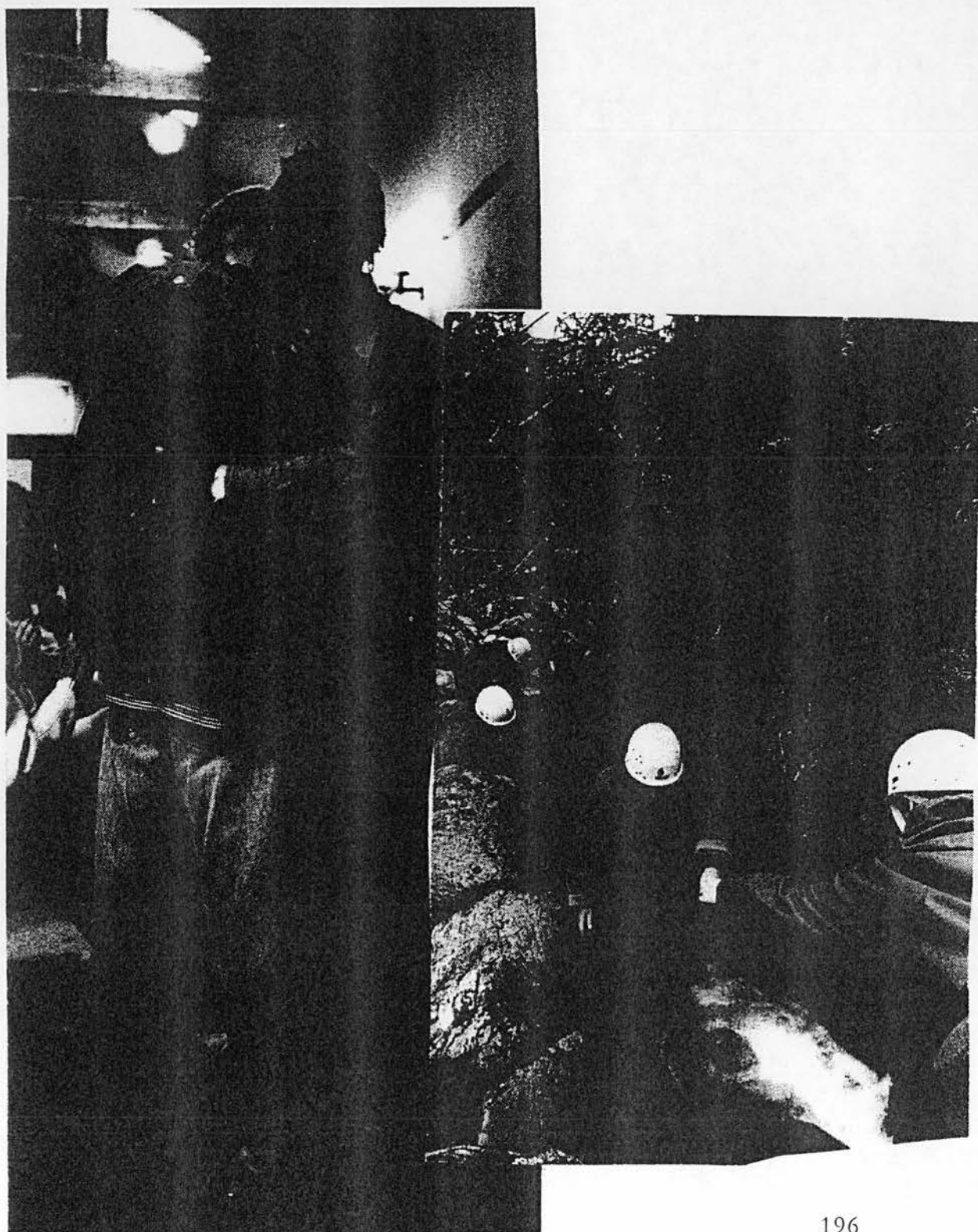
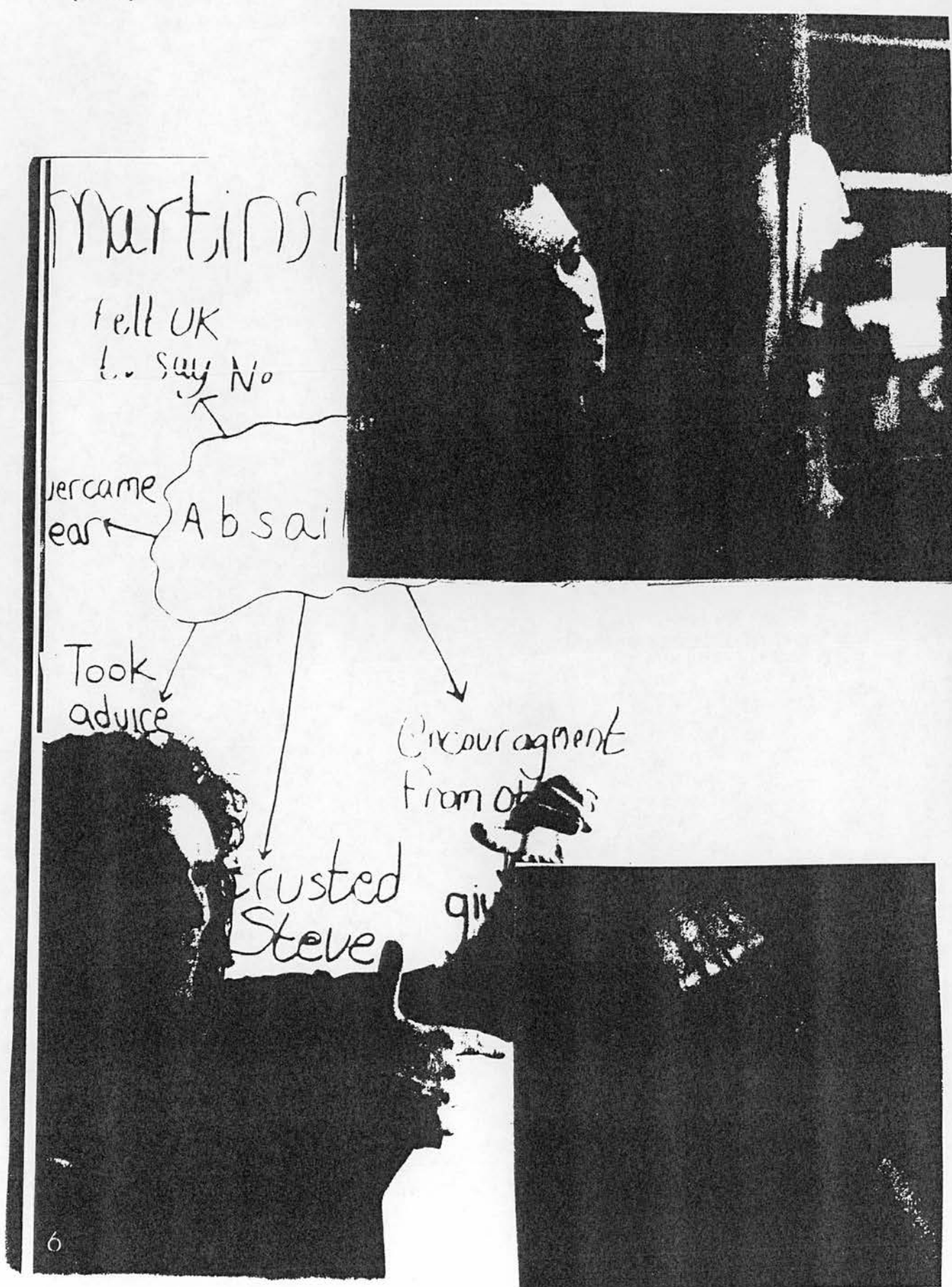


Fig 5.8 cont. Illustrations from Fairbridge In Scotland Brochure (1997)



calling out for support for their programmes which claim to be able to improve these children's lives, as well as to reduce offending levels. Thus the documentative photography illustrates the process of rehabilitation, emphasises the ability of outdoor adventure provision to achieve these ends, and provides moral weight to this application.

### **5.3.3 AN UNAVOIDABLE OPPOSITION?**

Within newspapers, critics of outdoor adventure use oppositional pairing to attack its rehabilitative function whilst advocates of its rehabilitative application use defensive pairings to defend this. Outdoor adventure is therefore constructed in two opposing ways - as leisure (therefore not rehabilitation) and as rehabilitation (therefore not leisure).

This binary division is problematic. On a practical level the continued problematisation of outdoor adventure's rehabilitative function on the basis of its intrinsic leisure identity within the media suggests that this binary opposition is not widely accepted. On a philosophical level, these binaries undermine attempts to recognise the non-residual status of leisure. Critics of outdoor adventure define leisure residually, whilst its advocates, by situating their provision as the opposite of leisure, also contribute to the residual perspective. This is because they apparently agree that leisure is unable to address serious social issues, and argue that these need to be met, and are met, by non-leisure based interventions.

This opposition is not the only way to construct outdoor adventure, however, as a brief analysis of a different genre of brochures - those advertising outdoor activities for personal development gains - illustrates. These brochures use an alternative conception of outdoor adventure which avoids the leisure/non-leisure polarity and which unifies discourses that have, in the preceding analysis, been opposed. This is illustrated through the Outward Bound brochure (1997).

Within brochures which advertise self development, many of the discourses recognised in its construction as leisure can be seen. Discourses of enjoyment, for example, are frequently employed. The Outward Bound Trust's brochure claims that its programmes are 'always fun' (1997: 2). The discourse of freedom of choice is evident in the wide choice of activities available, the flexibility of the programmes and freedom from responsibilities is also evident.

Alongside these, brochures emphasise outdoor adventure's ability to cultivate a well developed person through discourses recognised in the rehabilitative discourse, such as challenge and responsibility. For example, programmes are described as:

"[A] chance to put yourself to the test and see what you are really made of. You'll certainly broaden your view of the world away from home from nearly three weeks, meeting new people, new *challenges*, discovering who you really are. Gaining a sense of independence, self reliance, *responsibility* for yourself and others, the confidence to face new *challenges* and win through"  
(1997: 8, emphasis added).

Perhaps the non-contentious nature of this application (its use by the law abiding population, in their free time, who pay for the provision) enables outdoor adventure to be portrayed in a non-diametric way. This is valuable because it recognises that *leisure* activities can achieve more than just fun and the experience of freedom, and therefore suggests that non-residual conceptions of leisure are utilised in some understandings of outdoor adventure. It also illustrates that the binary pairing practised by supporters and critics of outdoor adventure's use for the rehabilitation of young offenders is a deliberate strategy of opposition, but not the only way to envisage the role of either leisure or outdoor adventure.

#### **5.3.4 SUMMARY OF SECTION**

Each of the discourses above show how outdoor adventure can be constructed as an effective rehabilitative tool. To a certain extent, each discourse operates in

isolation from each other and from leisure constructions, describing the perceived qualities, characteristics and utility of outdoor adventure in a rehabilitative context. However these discourses also work together to separate the rehabilitative function of outdoor adventure from outdoor adventure's conceptualisation as traditional leisure. A shared attribute of all these discourses is their inversion of leisure discourses (see table 5.1 ).

**TABLE 5.1 A Comparison Of Different Constructions Of Outdoor Adventure.**

<b>LEISURE DISCOURSES ASSOCIATED WITH OUTDOOR ADVENTURE:</b>	<b>REHABILITATIVE DISCOURSES ASSOCIATED WITH OUTDOOR ADVENTURE :</b>
REWARD	PENALTY
ENJOYMENT	CHALLENGE
FREEDOM	CONSTRAINT
FAILURE	SUCCESS
FREEDOM	RESPONSIBILITY
IMMORALITY	MORALITY
LEISURE	NON-LEISURE

This inversion constructs the rehabilitative provision of outdoor adventure as the opposite of leisure based provisions, strongly, if implicitly, rejecting criticisms that the rehabilitative function of outdoor adventure is a misapplication of leisure.

Both constructions of outdoor adventure - that it is leisure and that it is rehabilitation - firmly ensconce leisure within the traditional philosophy of leisure. This suggests that, alongside the dominant assumption that outdoor adventure is 'naturally' a leisure activity, there exists a naturalised idea that leisure has the qualities claimed by traditional theorists of leisure. Though leisure theorists have increasingly begun to challenge this idea, within the public debates and representations of outdoor adventure, as analysed here, the



traditional perspective remains pre-eminent. Within leisure brochures and the majority of newspaper coverage, outdoor adventure is constructed as leisure through discourses celebrating its enjoyability, its freedom, its voluntary nature and its subsidiary relationship to work; that is, a traditional theorisation of leisure. As chapter 3 argued, this perspective of leisure has been critiqued and challenged by other philosophies of leisure. However, these alternative conceptions do not seem to have informed media coverage of outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role or brochures which sell outdoor adventure as a leisure activity, both of which propagate a narrow and partial vision of leisure.

Discourses of outdoor adventure used by rehabilitation proponents also subscribe to a residual vision of leisure. Though leisure theorists have conceptualised leisure as a site of social control, representations of its rehabilitative use do not seem to refer to this philosophy. Instead, through binary pairings (the outright rejection of the 'leisure' label, the clear differentiation from activities and qualities that have been associated with leisure, and the positioning of outdoor adventure as leisure's opposite) this field contributes to the residual perspective of leisure. By clearly situating itself as something other than leisure, outdoor adventure providers apparently condemn leisure as an unsuitable and ineffectual approach to social control. Leisure theorists' debates over leisure's function as a means of social control are therefore ignored as outdoor adventure's leisure status is refuted.

Because advocates of outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role have to respond to critiques based in the dominant traditional perspective of leisure, other theories of leisure are ignored. Though it is possible to conceive of outdoor adventure as a source of meaning in life (Raghab 1996, Wallé 1997) or as social control (Rojek 1989), within the context of media and brochure representations these different perceptions have been ignored. If outdoor adventure providers want to construct their provision as providing outcomes other than experiences of enjoyment and freedom, they are forced to reject a leisure status. Because the status of leisure has been naturalised as traditional leisure, to claim to provide a leisure activity (albeit theorised differently as personal development, meaning in life or control) would very likely condemn their provision to further



public and media censure for rewarding young offenders with enjoyable activities.

As a consequence of the debate over the use of outdoor adventure for the rehabilitation of young offenders, the residual perspective of leisure has been reinforced. The extension of what is frequently viewed as a leisure activity into the realm of criminal rehabilitation has, paradoxically, consolidated a residual philosophy of leisure rather than challenging and mitigating this critiqued yet pervasive perspective on leisure.

#### **5.4. PRACTICAL REPERCUSSIONS**

The preceding analysis has shown that the dominant discourse surrounding outdoor adventure is its construction as leisure. One practical implication of this construction has been that its rehabilitative practice has been problematised because the naturalisation of outdoor adventure into a leisure activity appears to undermine the plausibility of its rehabilitative function.

This perception has been codified within government legislation. In response to the media coverage around the rehabilitative use of outdoor adventure, the National Standards for the Probation Service and Social Service Departments (1992) were revised in 1995. The revision refers to:

“planned and purposeful physical activities directed towards helping young offenders to change attitudes and develop a greater sense of personal responsibility and discipline”,

and dictates that:

“[A]ll activities should be carefully assessed to ensure that their location or nature could not give the impression of providing a reward for offending”  
(1995 Part 4. Paragraph 19).

Wariness of public criticism and the requirement to conform to government legislation have contributed to a reluctance among social service departments to use outdoor adventure programmes to rehabilitate young offenders. Results from a canvas of British Social Service Departments (SSD) and The

Probation Service reveal that, of the 127 SSDs that replied, the majority (77 compared with 50) did not use outdoor adventure to rehabilitate young offenders (appendix 2). Results for Probation Services reveal a slightly different picture. Out of a total of 59 Probation Services, 21 responded to the canvas, out of which 14 used outdoor adventure whilst only 7 did not. However, concern over potential criticisms arising from outdoor adventure's status as leisure was expressed in both SSD and Probation Service responses.

SSD and Probation service decisions not to use outdoor adventure cannot be solely attributed to its public construction as leisure, because many different reasons were given for such decisions. These included: cost, limited evidence of effectiveness, the long distances between programme location and the authority which make it difficult to maintain contact between social worker and client, the preference for rehabilitating young offenders within their home communities, the favouring of alternative rehabilitative strategies such as a cognitive behavioural approaches, and a perceived lack of quality programmes.

Revealingly though, concern over the mistaken perception of rehabilitation programmes as leisure was the most frequently cited reason for not using outdoor adventure. Hounslow SSD, Ealing Social Service Youth Justice Department, Greenwich Council Youth Justice Team, Leeds City Council SSD, South Yorkshire Probation Service, Tower Hamlets SSD, Barnsley Metropolitan Borough Council SSD, South East London Probation Service and the Inner London Probation Service all claimed that outdoor adventure's construction as leisure, and consequent government legislation deterred them from using it, because, as one respondent succinctly summarised:

“they are misinterpreted as treats for offenders”  
Youth Justice Worker.

Reluctance to use outdoor activities is based around the concern that it will result in widespread criticism. Potential criticisms are envisaged coming from four main areas:

- press mis-understanding and censure:  
 “[T]his lack of use is clearly partly due to the political sensitivities of this sort of therapy if news of it reaches the media. This is particularly the case for young offenders”  
 Youth Justice Worker.
- public condemnation:  
 “I am keenly aware of the public condemnation which occurred some years ago regarding such programmes, and I am also aware of National Home Office Standards which require offence-related programmes not to be seen as rewards for offending”  
 Team Leader, Youth Justice Service.
- being critiqued and blocked by the judiciary:  
 “[W]e do not usually refer young people to Outward Bound or similar types of physically challenging projects. As you must be well aware, over recent years the media has taken an interest in what it deems "goodies" for offenders. Our magistrates have been keen to question any mention of use of leisure activities or Outward Bound courses and questioned what these entailed”  
 Youth Justice Officer.
- censure from straying from government guidelines:  
 “Referring young people to such activity programmes incurred the wrath of the last government after a few well publicised cases attracted negative media attention and comment. The Probation Service and the Social Services Departments in England and Wales came under National Standards (published 1992, revised 1995) which stated clearly that if "physical activities" were deemed appropriate as a supervisory method they should not "give the impression of providing a reward for offending". SSDs are therefore particularly wary about the use of such schemes, and coupled with the cost of these activities, I would suspect that many SSDs do not refer”  
 Youth Court Services Team.

Even among departments that do use outdoor adventure, concern was expressed over the potential misinterpretation of outdoor adventure and over the need to conform to government guidelines. For example, West Sussex Probation Service use Venture Trust, but stated:

“until we had information from them we did not have anything similar to refer to as the feeling was that such activities were ‘treats for offenders’. As this [Venture Trust] however is sponsored by the Home Office it is therefore an approved route for such activities”  
 Senior Social Worker.

South Glamorgan Probation Service gave two reasons to explain their limited use of outdoor adventure, because of financial contrasts and because:

“there is something of a ‘mixed message’ with outdoor offenders, the holidays for offenders’ aspect”  
Assistant Chief Officer.

There exists a widespread climate of reticence in the use of outdoor activities to rehabilitate young offenders which is based in fear of reprisals from many social sectors: the press, the public, the judiciary and the government. It is perceived by respondents to the canvas that there is widespread belief that outdoor activities are leisure activities. However, as the quotes indicate, it is not simply because programmes are viewed as leisure that they are condemned, but because leisure is perceived to be enjoyable and to provide ‘goodies’, ‘rewards’ and ‘treats’. The locus of contention in the rehabilitative uses of outdoor activities lies not only in its status as leisure, but also because that leisure is perceived as a reward. Respondents therefore make clear reference to the residual construct of leisure as subsidiary to work when explaining decisions about its rehabilitative use. Furthermore, it can be seen that this construct is perceived to have widespread influence over the attitudes of the press, the public, the judiciary, the government and the social workers. This means that, even if social workers would like to recommend outdoor adventure programmes, the pervasive and prohibitive nature of this discourse will mediate against its use. One social worker explained his perception of this lack of support:

“My own opinion (which is not necessarily that of the borough that I work for) is that although I can appreciate that outward bound[sic] activities can be of great value to some young people, their use is costly and can easily become the subject of mis-representation by the press. Of course, many professionals understand that the challenges that the young people experience can help to build self-confidence, self-reliance, social skills and an understanding of the importance of teamwork. However, in post Bulger climate, where young offenders have been turned into scapegoats, few members of the public can be expected to approve of those who have offended gaining access to what are perceived to be enjoyable activities”  
Youth Justice Manager.

Although the canvas was completed in 1997, three years after the media outrage and legislation changes, there is evidence that these concerns remain prevalent

today. Interviews conducted in 1999 showed that social workers were still worried about the potential to misconstrue outdoor adventure as leisure. When asked if he had any concerns over the use of outdoor adventure a social worker (F) replied:

“it’s a real shame but its seen as a fairly high risk thing for us to be doing because it is seen as a holiday and these kinds of things, therefore if it doesn’t work you can get quite a lot of negative feedback from that.”

Another (A) argued:

“I think that the perception is portrayed in the media that all young offenders are getting treats for doing bad things.”

These quotes clearly indicate that SSDs recognise that the construction of outdoor adventure as a leisure activity exists within public, media and government perceptions. The potential threat of criticisms emerging from this perspective has curtailed and, among some SSDs, totally prevented the use of outdoor adventure for rehabilitative purposes. This is problematic as people are made wary of using an activity which many social workers and outdoor adventure professionals feel is of rehabilitative value. Moreover, this rehabilitative value has also been theorised and its outcomes academically supported (see for example Day 1975, Cason and Gillis 1994, Gillis and Simpson 1991, Henggeler and Pickrel 1996, Hunt 1989, Kimball 1983, Maddern 1990, Nichols 1998, Sakofs 1993, Utting 1996), and is supported in newspapers, brochures and in interview scripts:

“we’re charged with helping to reduce their offending and if this [Fairbridge] helps their offending then I’ve got no worries at all, and from what I’ve seen with my anecdotal evidence it can help. What I’ve read it’s one of the most effective ways of working with young offenders”  
Social Worker C.

In the light of these problems, it is of great importance to investigate possibilities of shifting out of and moving beyond the binary pairing of leisure/non-leisure because this has had severe practical impacts upon outdoor adventure and leisure; it has made professionals wary of using, and sometimes totally prevents the uptake of, what is considered to be a potentially useful rehabilitative tool, and it philosophically undermines the status of leisure.

## 5.5 IS OUTDOOR ADVENTURE 'LEISURE'?

Moving beyond this dichotomy is important for a third reason; apparently contradicting the non-leisure counter-discourse within newspapers and brochures, interview data reveals that amongst some providers and social workers there remains a perception that outdoor adventure *is* a leisure activity (though other interviews do seem to reject the leisure status). There hence exists an apparent disparity between *representations* and some *perceptions* of outdoor adventure. This reveals that the dichotomy mobilised with the media and brochures - critics of the rehabilitative role construct outdoor adventure as leisure / advocates as non-leisure - does not represent all the perceptions of outdoor adventure, and means that the relationship between outdoor adventure and leisure needs to be addressed. Can outdoor adventure be seen as a leisure activity *within* the context of its criminal rehabilitative and preventative use, and, if so, what type of leisure (traditional, humanistic, structural, structuational) is it perceived to be?

Interview data shows that outdoor adventure programmes have an ambivalent status - they are constructed as both leisure and non-leisure by different social workers and outdoor adventure providers. Each of the two, apparently contradicting, discourses will be analysed to investigate whether outdoor adventure can be considered a form of leisure. If so, this will also point to the need to theorise the rehabilitative use of outdoor adventure as leisure rather than as non-leisure. However, it will do much more than this. If outdoor adventure is perceived to be a leisure activity, this analysis may move beyond this specific example and provide insights more generally into the role of leisure.

Unlike the media representations of outdoor adventure, social workers and outdoor adventure providers often call outdoor adventure programmes 'holidays' and 'leisure activities', and associate these activities with some of the discourses associated with leisure, identified in section 2. Outdoor adventure is widely associated with enjoyment and 'treats', and with occupying



leisure time. The Sail Training representative, for example, explicitly recognised and valued the enjoyable nature of outdoor adventure:

“well it is a holiday because you want them to enjoy it.”

In a similar vein, social workers frequently refer to outdoor adventure as a treat:

“we got into doing outdoor activities with the lads ourselves, mountain biking, going to country parks where we could abseil thing like that, give them a different experience, *a treat*”  
Social Worker B.

Outdoor adventure is therefore associated with enjoyment, one of the defining characteristics of leisure which advocates of this use have avoided in newspaper and brochures, or, if recognised, has only been justified through challenge.

Leisure is also associated with non-work time. One of the most frequently given reasons for doing outdoor adventure activities was that it structured time in which young people would otherwise be doing nothing. For example, social worker C described the Fairbridge programme as taking:

“some time out of where they would be sitting around, either doing nothing at home or drinking, driving, drugs, whatever.”

Outdoor adventure is therefore associated with leisure through discourses of its enjoyability, its status as a treat, and its occurrence in individuals' free time. However, despite these descriptions, the conception of leisure articulated by social workers and outdoor adventure providers is far from that encapsulated in dominant media representations which position leisure as enjoyable and as occurring in free time, but also as residual and as an ineffectual and inappropriate rehabilitation tool. Although social workers may utilise the first two discourses, they oppose the latter two. The residual interpretation of leisure is criticised by social workers because it is perceived to distort the role of outdoor adventure in the eyes of the public. Outdoor adventure providers and social workers posit an alternative view of leisure which, though providing enjoyment and occurring in non-work time, differs from the residual conception in two ways: its reward status is challenged, and its value as a rehabilitative tool is emphasised.

Instead of being constructed as a 'reward', leisure is considered valuable in itself and as an activity that does not need to be justified through something else. For example, social worker F argued that outdoor adventure should not be viewed as a reward:

"Quite often parents see this as being a holiday because going away on activities is just something they could never afford and they just view it as a luxury. You have to educate parents as to why you suggest this, *that you are not just rewarding bad behaviour.*"

This rejects criticisms that outdoor adventure 'rewards' bad behaviour, but it also alters the perception of leisure. Leisure is posited as internally coherent and self justifying, rather than residual (a perspective which constructed leisure as deriving its role and obtaining its legitimacy from non-leisure activities).

Outdoor adventure is also constructed as a leisure activity that is a useful rehabilitative tool. It has been argued that the residual construction of leisure envisages these two functions (leisure and rehabilitation) as mutually exclusive. A vision of outdoor adventure which sees it as a useful rehabilitation tool cannot therefore be a residual perception of leisure. Within interviews, leisure's utility as a rehabilitative tool was clearly recognised. Practice team leader 6, in discussing the value of outdoor adventure, positioned this as leisure and claimed that leisure was able to:

"break cycles of fear and misery that you can't do in another way."

Many other practice team managers and social workers who support the use of outdoor adventure made reference to outdoor adventure's ability to rehabilitate young offenders. Outdoor adventure is associated with leisure, then, but a leisure that is not residual. Instead, it posits leisure as intrinsically valuable and as an effective rehabilitative tool.

In contrast to these providers and social workers who situate outdoor adventure as (non-residual) leisure, others interviewed explicitly denied outdoor adventure's leisure status. However, it is not leisure *per se* that is being disputed but, the *residual* construction of leisure. Using the same tactics that were identified in the analysis of outdoor adventure brochures and media analysis, some outdoor adventure providers distance their provision from the

construction of outdoor adventure as residual leisure. Two quotes illustrate this very clearly. The first is from Corvedale Care:

“If you wanted an outdoor activity holiday you go to PGL or you go to Acorn or you go to all the other providers who do a low level, fun thing, and it’s a muck about, and it’s, yes, you’re in a kayak, but you’re quite possibly not challenging kayaking. You know, you’re doing a safe thing and hundreds and thousands have gone round the same thing. *What we do is not a holiday*”  
(emphasis added).

The second is from the Airborne Initiative’s deputy manager. He compared outdoor adventure programmes based on entertainment with personal development programmes, a genre to which he claimed Airborne belonged:

“I think this [outdoor adventure for entertainment] is fairground. And I’m not being disparaging, don’t get me wrong, because I was into that a great deal. That’s how a lot of people start actually. It’s hard skills. It’s fairground type stuff. ‘Pay for this. Have a go at that’ type thing. You know like ‘Come here and have an abseil.’ There’s no reviewing, there’s no front loading. It’s just let’s go and have some fun basically, and it’s got its place. People on holiday they don’t want any of the rest of it. They just want to go and have some fun. ... Then when we get onto development, we’re actually trying to develop. It’s all to do with social needs and personal needs really. We try to expand them. We try to develop the person or the group or the team or whatever you want to develop. You want to make them into something that will fit better into society, will fit better into a business, fit better into whatever you want.”

As well as outdoor adventure’s ‘leisure’ status being challenged, providers also refute specific *qualities* that are associated with residual leisure. These include the idea that outdoor adventure is a reward:

“I don’t think it’s a reward. I think it’s torture for them”  
Social Worker D.

And too the idea that outdoor adventure encapsulates freedom:

“It’s not just going to Butlins for a week and do whatever you fancy doing whenever you fancy doing it. There’s a structure and there will be expectations”  
Practice Team Manager 9.

Outdoor adventure is therefore further differentiated from residual leisure through claims that outdoor adventure programmes lack residual leisure’s essential qualities.

In another, now familiar, differentiation strategy, outdoor adventure providers describe outdoor adventure through discourses that invert those of leisure as residual. Social workers use the discourse of challenge to describe outdoor adventure. Social worker D termed Airborne a 'hard option', whilst, talking about outdoor adventure programmes more generally, social worker B used the discourse of hard work to dissociate provision from public perceptions of leisure and rewards:

"I've read cases where young offenders have been treated to holidays abroad. People that work in the field that we do understand the aims of this kind of treat. Rewarding in the eyes of society, the public, rewarding people for their bad behaviour isn't on but I know where this is coming from and I'm very wholeheartedly in favour of giving people opportunities like this because its not the soft option, *it's a lot of hard work*" (emphasis added).

Interview data therefore dissociates outdoor adventure programmes from residual leisure, by contrasting rehabilitative provision against provisions that aim to be purely entertaining and highlighting their differences, by claiming that outdoor adventure lacks qualities traditionally associated with leisure, and by inverting dominant discourses of leisure. This non-leisure discourse can therefore be more accurately be termed the non- *residual* leisure discourse. This discourse therefore does not necessarily prevent outdoor adventure being perceived and articulated through alternative philosophies of leisure which envisage a non-residual leisure (and outdoor adventure) as a valuable rehabilitative tool: the very same way that it *has* in fact been interpreted by social workers and providers who argue that outdoor adventure *is* leisure.

Outdoor adventure is in some instances referred to as leisure, yet in other instances is directly opposed to leisure. These are not contradictory statements, merely statements emanating from different philosophies of leisure.

Repudiations of outdoor adventure's leisure status are not a repudiation of leisure per se, but a repudiation of the construction of outdoor adventure as residual leisure that has dominated public perceptions, which has been used to criticise outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role, and which is believed incapable of effectively describing leisure qualities and roles. Similarly, interviews that describe outdoor adventure as leisure do so in ways that show

outdoor adventure to be much more than residual leisure. The two discourses of leisure/non-leisure are not so different as they initially appear because the leisure discourse constructs leisure as more than residual, whilst the non-leisure discourse finds a residual interpretation of leisure wanting and so rejects it. Both discourses share a belief that the residual discourse of leisure is unable to fully appreciate outdoor adventure's role.

Outdoor adventure *has* been constructed as leisure by some providers and social workers, and, though some interviewees argue against outdoor adventure's residual status, this need not be a rejection of a non-residual leisure identity. This has two implications. First, because outdoor adventure can be viewed as a leisure activity, this analysis may provide insights not only into outdoor adventure social role, but more generally into the social role of leisure. Second, leisure needs to be theorised in non-residual ways, because, as has been shown here, this is considered unable to appreciate the real value and function of leisure.

## 5.6 CONCLUSION

The primacy of the naturalised leisure role of outdoor adventure as constructed through media and brochure representations of outdoor adventure is problematic. Through it leisure has become constructed narrowly and singularly as traditional leisure, a theorisation that not only marginalises alternative conceptions of leisure, but gives primacy to a much critiqued interpretation of leisure. It also falsely restricts ideas of outdoor activities' legitimacy to a single function detrimentally curtailing its application in rehabilitative contexts. This perspective is incorrect as, though outdoor adventure can be residual leisure, it is not *only* residual leisure, and it has other functions, including rehabilitation. Through the dominance of the leisure perspective, however, alternative perspectives on outdoor adventure have become marginalised within public discourse surrounding the rehabilitative use of outdoor adventure. The discursive relationships around outdoor adventure identity analysed in this study are dominated by the leisure discourse. This idea



of outdoor adventure has therefore become the norm against which all other uses are judged. Because rehabilitation providers attempt to use outdoor adventure in a way that does not fit the dominant perception of normality, they are criticised.

Although the leisure discourse is dominant, it is not universal, and it is challenged by an important counter-discourse supporting its rehabilitative use. However, the marginalisation of this counter discourse and its recourse to the leisure discourse to situate its provision (i.e. its position as non-leisure), indicate that the two discourses do not have parity; the rehabilitative construct is forced to resist a dominant discourse of leisure. The discursive relationship around leisure is similarly asymmetrical; there is a dominant discourse that leisure should be fun, occur in free-time, be a reward for work and encapsulate freedom. Other theories of leisure are scarcely referred to at all, or, if they are recognised, they are disparaged; leisure, for example was constructed as an inappropriate and ineffective medium for social control.

To answer the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, it is clear that both outdoor adventure's and leisure's polymenous natures are not celebrated. Instead, outdoor adventure and leisure have naturalised meanings which dominate their representation. Although this is the dominant way that outdoor adventure has been constructed within brochure and media coverage, it is not the only possible way.

The next chapter will consider whether outdoor adventure can be re-conceptualised within a Foucauldian framework of control, and discuss whether such a conceptualisation can overcome the problems of a residual perspective on leisure which marginalises other theorisations, produces partial and incomplete pictures of outdoor adventure's utility, limit outdoor adventure's practical implementation, and which does not accurately reflect social workers' and providers' perceptions of outdoor adventure.



## CHAPTER SIX: Disciplining Outdoor Adventure

### 6.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 argued that outdoor adventure programmes are most frequently perceived to be traditional leisure activities. This dominant discourse has had a detrimental effect on outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role, undermining the perceived appropriateness and effectiveness of these programmes, and consequently inhibiting their practical implementation. This 'leisured' perception of outdoor adventure has been resisted by proponents of its rehabilitative use who defend this practice against extensive criticisms grounded in outdoor adventure's leisure identity. However, in their counter-discourse, advocates describe outdoor adventure in terms that reflect the extensive influence of, and promote, the traditional leisure construct. To create a rehabilitative identity instead of a leisure identity, outdoor adventure providers have explicitly and implicitly opposed their provision to leisure, so that alongside a positive assertion of what outdoor adventure rehabilitate programmes are and do, there is a negative assertion that they are not leisure. This opposition forestalls criticisms based in the misapplication of leisure, but whilst this argues that *outdoor adventure* can be used for social control, by disassociating itself from leisure, it affirms that *leisure* cannot achieve these ends. This is problematic, because outdoor adventure representations prioritise a vision of leisure that has been widely critiqued, and ignores alternative theorisations of leisure (chapter 2).

In response to these problems the next two chapters analyse whether outdoor adventure can be understood, not in terms of (traditional) leisure or non-leisure, but in terms of Foucauldian social control (discipline and self-regulation). Through this change of underlying philosophy, this approach proposes to move the debate around the rehabilitative use of outdoor adventure away from the leisure/non-leisure opposition, by altering perceptions of the *qualities* of leisure. If this is possible, this approach will provide a basis for defending outdoor

adventure's rehabilitative application against traditional leisure based criticisms by recognising leisure's impact on social control. For example, can outdoor adventure be criticised as a reward, or an ineffective penal intervention, when discipline is understood to be one of its inherent characteristics? Moreover, a Foucauldian approach has the further advantage of supporting outdoor adventure's rehabilitative use in a way that does not limit leisure's perceived social value to enjoyment, freedom and recuperation from work, and does not suffer from this perspective's overemphasis upon individual agency (see chapter 2 section 2.2). Instead, a Foucauldian approach recognises the social value of leisure as a form of social control, and recognises the interplay between agency and structures (chapter 2 section 2.6). Therefore, as well as contributing to the outdoor adventure debate, this perspective, as argued in chapter 2, may be a potential way to overcome problems within leisure studies' traditional, humanistic, structural and structurational approaches. This chapter examines the ways in which outdoor adventure can be considered disciplinary; chapter 7 examines how it incites individual to regulate themselves.

Discipline and regulation (through governmentality) are both examined in this thesis because Foucault argued that both operated in society; to investigate outdoor adventure for only one of these forms of control would therefore unduly privilege one form of control - both need to be investigated to see if, and how, outdoor adventure controls. Moreover, the difference in the style of control between the disciplines and governmentality is relevant to this study. The disciplines argue that control is externally imposed and they have connotations of restraint and constraint (see chapter 3 section 3.2). This seems to reflect the counter-discourse of outdoor adventure identified in the previous chapter. By examining how outdoor adventure can be disciplinary without negating its status as leisure, an investigation into the disciplines may give weight to this discourse of outdoor adventure, support outdoor adventure's rehabilitative role - especially in the light of public demands for punitive sentences (chapter 5 section 5.2.2.1), yet avoid having a detrimental impact upon perceptions of leisure. However, leisure and the disciplines apparently seem opposed; leisure is *experienced* as a form of freedom (through it may serve other functions - see chapter 2), and it is questionable whether

experiences of freedom can be obtained through an activity that controls only through externally imposed and enforced constraining influences. Yet theories of governmentality argue that control can also proceed through the voluntary actions of individuals - enabling freedom to be experienced alongside regulatory influences and effects. If participants regulate themselves alongside being exposed to disciplinary influences, outdoor adventure (and leisure) can be understood as disciplining, regulating, *and* providing experiences of freedom.

Outdoor adventure's disciplinary influence will be investigated in relation to the ideas Foucault presented in *Discipline and Punish*. As discussed in chapter 3, Foucault argued that eighteenth and nineteenth century institutions utilised a series of disciplinary techniques to produce subjects in whom discipline was internalised. As a consequence people became useful and docile; dominated subjects who combined the skilled performance of tasks with compliance and conformity to desired behaviours and attitudes. This chapter investigates whether such disciplinary practices can be found today in outdoor adventure programmes used to rehabilitate young offenders or to prevent 'at risk' youths becoming involved in crime.

Sections 2 and 3 examine the relationship between Foucault's disciplinary tactics and outdoor adventure programmes. Foucault envisaged four disciplinary techniques used to accomplish subjection. These are: the art of distribution, the control of activity, organisation of geneses and the composition of forces (these are addressed in section 2). Overarching these are two instruments which ensure compliance with these tactics: hierarchical observation and normalising judgement (section 3). Foucault's theories of these techniques shall be briefly summarised to highlight what they entailed and how these were envisioned to produce docile bodies (these were discussed in detail in chapter 3, section 3.2.1). Interview data from outdoor adventure providers and social workers is then analysed to investigate any similarities between the present day practice of outdoor adventure and Foucault's disciplinary techniques and instruments of control.

There is also a sub-theme running throughout this analysis. In an apparent contradiction to the argument that outdoor adventure may be considered disciplinary, there exists a discernible resistance to some of these disciplinary tactics within interview scripts. First, there is a widespread explicit refutation that young offenders are 'deviant'; an implicit challenge to Foucault's recognition of discipline and normalisation proceeding through society's dichotomization of the normal and the deviant. Second, providers attempt to explain some disciplinary tactics - particularly enclosure, the partitioning of individuals and supervision - in non-disciplinary terms. Processes which embody disciplinary tactics are recognised as occurring, but are explained as contributing to the welfare of the participant, or the effectiveness of the programmes, as well as, or instead of, having disciplinary implications. These apparent resistances to, or supplementation of, the disciplinary philosophy expressed by providers of outdoor adventure and social workers will be identified throughout the analysis when they appear, and will be investigated in section 6 to see if they challenge the suggestion that outdoor adventure programmes can be considered disciplinary.

## **6.2 FOUCAULT'S DISCIPLINARY TECHNIQUES**

Garland (1990a) claims that the identification of the processes through which discipline operates, the revelation of 'the how' of disciplines which has illuminated their extensive effects, is one of the most important contributions Foucault has made to the understanding of discipline. Because of this importance, this study investigates outdoor adventure's disciplinary nature (or not) through these processes and tactics. If outdoor adventure *is* disciplinary, it will be evident through the operation of disciplinary processes and their influence over subjects' actions, thoughts and relationships.

The following analysis takes each of Foucault's four disciplinary tactics - the art of distribution, the control of activity, organisation of geneses and the composition of forces - in turn. Interview scripts are analysed for evidence that disciplinary tactics operate in rehabilitative programmes, and to investigate

their disciplinary implications. But this is also an analysis of attempts to resist, or at least to supplement, the disciplinary interpretations of these tactics because some providers and social workers attempt to explain disciplinary tactics differently, in terms of benefits to participants.

### **6.2.1. THE ART OF DISTRIBUTION**

Foucault argued that the ‘art of distribution’ - the careful deployment of subjects in geographical and hierarchical space - consisted of two strategies: enclosure and the partitioning of subjects. Enclosure ‘disciplines’ by preventing dispersal, making observation and control easy, and by demarcating difference (social as well as physical) between the deviant and normal populations. The spatial partitioning of subjects disbands group formations and so reduces the potential for resistance, and replaces these disruptive ‘dangerous and unusable co-agulations’ with useful relations; those which further institutional aims. Furthermore, it imposes order onto an otherwise amorphous mass, facilitating the immediate supervision and judgement of any individual. Outdoor adventure programmes are investigated to see if strategies of enclosure and the partitioning of individuals can be seen to operate, and whether the disciplinary implications of these strategies are similar to those identified by Foucault.

#### **6.2.1.1 ENCLOSURE**

Foucault’s account of disciplinary institutions conjures images of walls behind which ‘the other’ is barricaded from the rest of society. It may therefore seem inappropriate to associate outdoor activities, occurring in the ‘great outdoors’ with a Foucauldian interpretation and its emphasis on enclosure and confinement. In fact, providers of outdoor adventure stress the absence of traditional techniques of enclosure, celebrating the apparent freedom of their clients.

“You can see how difficult it is to get out of here, just step over the two foot high wall”  
Manager of the Venture Trust.

However, enclosure from society need not be accomplished by human-made walls; it can be achieved through other techniques of separation. As Foucault’s emphasis upon the separation of normal and deviant populations makes clear, it is not the *means* of separation but the *felt effects* of separation that is important, and outdoor adventure providers use three different ways of creating feelings of enclosure amongst participants. They:

- utilise the environment in which they work to provide natural barriers which isolate the offender from the ‘rest’ of society: a physical enclosure,
- use social enclosure in which young offenders are kept at a distance from ‘normal’ society, and
- develop a lifestyle enclosure; young offenders participate in a lifestyle which is very different, and so in a sense enclosed from, their everyday existence.

Each of these is examined in turn to identify how feelings of enclosure are produced and to investigate their disciplinary effects.

#### **6.2.1.1a PHYSICAL ENCLOSURE**

Outdoor adventure organisations which do not have physical walls to procure enclosure use their geographic remoteness as an obstacle to produce feelings of enclosure among participants. The strategy to enclose the participants from the rest of society is clearly deliberate and not simply a by-product of the rural (or marine) location.

West Coast Adventure was based on Scarpa, a small uninhabited island off the west coast of Scotland, where the only way on and off is by boat. Young offenders were taken there for a week of outdoor activities under canvas, cut off from the rest of the world not only physically, but socially, through the absence of electricity, radios, TVs, telephones and so on. Similarly, Bryn Melyn took young offenders to Mallaig (a remote seaside location in the Scottish



Highlands), where enclosure was apparent rather than actual, but no less effective because of that:

“[I]t was round the bay from Mallaig, very deserted. In fact the young people thought they were on an island because they went round by boat. Actually they could have walked round a mountain and got away but they didn’t know that...In that bit of Scotland they were out of their depth literally. They couldn’t have got into Mallaig[village]. They were in a sense marooned on what they believed to be an island”

Manager of Bryn Melyn.

Turnaround also deliberately uses an isolated location for part of their work:

“... that’s why we go down to Cornwall. I mean we’ll go on the moors or we’ll go anywhere, but it doesn’t matter where we go, we’re [Britain] such a small island. That’s why we go to Ireland [specifically, a small island, near Ireland]. We find that deserted island. And I say ‘right, this is it. What do we need?’ And they start to think what they’re going to take on a deserted island for them to survive. Because there’s no water over there, there’s nothing on the island”

Roger Director of Turnaround.

The two organisations included in this study which were based around a sailing experience also emphasise the enclosure produced by living on a Tall ship:

“Its about getting out there and staying on buoys or going on anchor so that *you’re basically there as a self contained unit*”

Manager of Care Afloat, emphasis added.

“If you go far enough out into the countryside where they haven’t got anything local, although they can still get away and walk down the road and find a village somewhere. *On the ship they can’t. That’s the whole point of it. And they’re in a group together and they have to get on with that group*”

Secretary to the Sail Training Association, Aberdeen, emphasis added.

There is therefore a very strong and frequent discourse of spatial enclosure in which outdoor adventure participants are confined together, and separated from the rest of the population through physical barriers of sea, mountains, or wilderness like environments.

Four different explanations for the use of enclosure were given in interviews. The first, to provide a cognitive break, describes enclosure in positive terms which emphasise the benefits of enclosure to the participants. The second, to provide a sense of community also initially appears to be non-disciplinary.

These explanations may seem to mitigate against a disciplinary interpretation. However, on a closer inspection, the formation of communities can be interpreted as having disciplinary implications, and the two further explanations of enclosure given - isolation from large population centres and the modification of behaviours - are overtly disciplinary.

Claims that physical enclosure provides a cognitive break draw upon the perceived qualities of the rural environment in which individuals are enclosed. Drawing from traditional ideas of the wilderness as therapeutic (Oelschlager 1990), and echoing beliefs embodied in the work of environmental psychologists (for example, Kaplan, 1974, 1987, Kaplan and Talbot 1983, Knopf 1983, Ronkhe and Kendle 1994, Ulrich 1983,1984), physical enclosure is argued to expose participants to environments which benefit the young offender by removing negative stressful influences:

“I believe the environment is a big help. The kids will often, if you’re sat in the middle of nowhere, there’s no stresses there, there’s nothing there for the child to be frustrated about in a way”

John, worker, Corvedale Care.

This shows how enclosure is explained as a cognitive break, a positive, non-disciplinary experience.

Another reason given to explain enclosure positively is to create a sense of community between the participants:

“Because it’s remote we are really thrown together very much as a small community which wouldn’t be the case if we were staying in an urban based environment where people are going home in the evening”

Venture Trust Manager.

Community formation, though, is also suggestive of the disciplinary rhetoric of enclosure. Integral to the formation of communities (composed of individuals who share values and interests) is a demarcation of difference to those outwith the community. This function of enclosure therefore separates off the ‘deviant’ participants, forming an outdoor adventure community which is perceived as different from the normal population.

Other providers explicitly acknowledge the disciplinary functions of physical enclosure produced by deliberate strategies of separating young offenders from the normal population. The Venture Trust program is situated in Applecross, a remote area in the north-west of Scotland. The director suggested that this was for a very practical reason; to keep any disruption away from large population centres:

“You’re going to have loads of trouble so they [the government] wanted to set it up somewhere remote so it obviously isn’t going to be causing any big trouble near any conurbation’s”  
Director of Venture Trust.

In this instance physical enclosure is used to contain disruptive behaviour. This is clearly disciplinary in a Foucauldian sense as ‘deviant’ populations are enclosed away from the normal population purely because of the deviant behaviours.

The fourth reason offered to explain the enclosure of young offenders is that this is perceived to alter young offenders’ behaviour. In remote locations, isolated from family, friends and their social support network, young offenders are forced to adopt different forms of behaviour, as John, a worker at Corvedale Care argued:

“[T]hey [young offenders] find because of the situation, the isolation really in terms of geography, that the behaviour patterns that were apparent before cannot continue.”

Because young offenders are in a strange environment, because they lack the support network they rely on, and because they are away from the negative influence of their peer group, it is claimed that young offenders are directed away from disruptive behaviours and confrontation with authority towards reliance upon that authority. This reliance upon authority consequent to physical separation in a new area was very well articulated by one provider:

“I always remember the first time we pulled out the tents in the Lake District, it was like - I redeemed six battery hens once and it reminded me of that. You’d think they’d all rush out in the middle of the sunshine, great, but they were cowering back. It’s a totally new environment. Totally new. *They’re almost clinging on to you because it’s so new*”  
Director of Renaissance Maritime Trust, emphasis added.

The enclosure and isolation of young offenders is therefore thought to alter young offenders' behaviours to authority, reducing aggression and confrontational situations.

Providers of outdoor adventure then widely acknowledge the use of physical enclosure and recognise its disciplinary implications; it is used to separate young offenders from normal society, and to try to alter their deviant behaviours.

### 6.2.1.1b SOCIAL ENCLOSURE

Other organisations, though less remote, sometimes try to obtain feelings of enclosure by avoidance of the normal population. A worker at Airborne described the conditions that he felt were important for a meaningful experience:

"I think certainly a journeying theme when they went somewhere, did something, saw something, whether its wildlife, whether its trees *where they don't have contact with telephones, roads, shops*, and all the people do benefit and their behaviour does change"

Airborne Team Leader, emphasis added.

Social worker B, also commenting on the Airborne Initiative, recognised the social isolation that is experienced as part of the programme:

"It means young people have to go away from home for ten weeks. They're allowed two long weeks within that period...they can't receive phone calls. They can receive mail but no visits, apart from their social worker. *So they cut off if you like*"

emphasis added.

As is apparent from the first quote the purpose of social enclosure is similar to physical enclosure and is again disciplinary in aim; it is believed that isolation from society encourages positive behaviour change.

This strategy of social isolation is not universal. Some organisations agree that young offenders benefit by mixing with other people rather than being removed from them. However, when this occurs it is not 'free mixing' but is carefully

supervised in ways that ‘normal’ people’s relations and actions are not. For example:

“[O]ur closest neighbours at the Old Mill have got a couple of lads a bit younger than our youngest lad, who’s only thirteen. And he goes out and plays with them. *Obviously we keep an eye on it*, but he’d formed a relationship with a couple of other lads...and he’s been able to play as normal kids do. *And obviously we talk to the parents and they’re quite happy for that to continue, but supervised obviously*”

John, worker at Corvedale Care, emphasis added.

Here then, though there is no physical enclosure, there remains a sense of social enclosure through limits imposed upon mixing with others, and differences between the treatment of young offenders and normal youths.

### 6.2.1.1c LIFESTYLE ENCLOSURE

Enclosure is also achieved through removing participants from the activities and issues which permeate ‘normal’ life (both of ‘normal’ society and their own everyday existence). Enclosure is therefore produced through the experience of a different quality of life. The ‘difference’ of the experience is often vague and unexplained, for example:

“Just having a little taste of life that’s completely different to the kind of lives they normally would be living”  
Secretary to the Sail Training Association.

A difference in lifestyle as a form of separation from the norm may also be interpreted as a further form of enclosure.

Lifestyle enclosure is once more linked to changes and alterations in young offenders’ behaviours. One provider explains how the experience of difference is perceived to be an essential part of behavioural change:

“If you take someone out of the situation they’re in, they have to react to the new situation. They have to therefore grow because they’ve got to react to a new situation, a new sets of values”  
Director of the Renaissance Maritime Trust.

Lifestyle enclosure is also justified through the non-disciplinary effects that it has on participants. Like physical enclosure, it is argued to provide a cognitive

break; removing some of the problems, clutter and complexities of young offenders' normal lives and providing opportunities to escape, if only for a short while, some of the difficulties which they face on a day to day basis. This displacement of problems is beneficial in itself:

"It's the IT society that we're in at the moment isn't it. Information technology, and there's so much thrown at you all the time. *Whereas once you're on that ship and out in the middle of the ocean there's nothing that can get at you*"  
Secretary to the Sail Training Association, emphasis added.

Moreover, this cognitive break also frees people's energies to address other tasks:

"In my view what happens is people can look at the themselves in a more, in a less cluttered environment. ... Home communities for young people are often very complex, very stressful environments, you know they may have a lot of risk elements, you know, drugs, homelessness, unemployment, abuse, general, the general violence that attends adolescent youths and certainly males. At Venture Trust those things aren't present so that, it takes away quite a lot of the backdrop and allows people to look at how they feel about things"  
Director of the Venture Trust.

Lifestyle enclosure is therefore explained in positive terms. It exposes young offenders to new experiences and situations which encourage the individual, in words of the director of the Renaissance Maritime Trust, to 'grow', and it removes stresses from participants' lives. However, alongside outdoor adventure providers' and social workers' positive spin on enclosure, the aims - to alter behaviour from criminal to law abiding (which has also been suggested as the aim of physical and social enclosure), and to the negative values of young offenders' background with new positive values - and the way these aims are achieved through the enclosure of the 'deviant' criminal population from the normal population, have very strong parallels with Foucault's disciplinary strategy.

Although outdoor adventure organisations are not enclosed behind walls, this interpretation of the interview scripts shows a strong rhetoric of enclosure. Outdoor adventure participants are isolated from the 'normal' population through physical, social and lifestyle enclosure. This is sometime explained positively, for example as a way to avoid trouble in populated areas, and to



increase the life quality and to contribute to the welfare of participants, but this enclosure is evidently also disciplinary. Young offenders are enclosed from the rest of society and this enclosure can be interpreted, via Foucault, as an imposition of difference between young offenders and non-criminals, and as the deliberate isolation of these young offenders from the rest of society. This disciplinary interpretation of enclosure shows how isolating the 'deviant' population stigmatises them as not-normal (they are demarcated as different, separated, or if mixed with the normal population are treated differently, as illustrated in the case of extra supervision given to children on these programmes in comparison with 'normal' youths). Enclosure also makes observation and control of this population easier, as illustrated by the dependence of young offenders on providers, and their claimed behavioural changes and co-operative attitudes towards authority figures on these programmes, which are argued to result directly from the tactics of enclosure.

#### **6.2.1.1d SOCIAL ENCLOSURE: THE NORMAL / DEVIANT DICHOTOMY**

As suggested above, associated with the idea of enclosure is the view that society is perceived by itself to be split into two categories, the 'normal' and the 'deviant', with the latter being enclosed and separated from the former. This was a major theme in *Discipline and Punish*. Foucault argued that, through regulations, interventions in activities, and the accumulation of knowledge through record keeping and examinations, human capacities became 'known'. Individuals were then expected to attain standards in behaviour and accomplishment which measured up to the identified capabilities. These standards became naturalised as it was expected that people could perform tasks at certain levels at different stages in their development. If these standards were not met, this became seen as 'unnatural', deviant and in need of correction.

Despite Foucault's emphasis on the construction of normality and deviance, and on the roles that these serve, and despite the way enclosure is used to

separate the 'deviant' young offenders from the 'normal' population, outdoor adventure providers display an apparent antipathy towards, and reluctance to use, the normal/deviant dichotomy:

"Kids are just kids you know. They're just normal kids that have had abnormal experiences and we wouldn't sort of label them, separate them out and say you are a certain type of client and we'll treat you differently to everybody else. Its not what we're about"

Chris, worker at Corvedale Care.

However, although young offenders tend not to be *directly* labelled 'deviant', young offenders are frequently constructed as either different from the 'normal' population, or as failing to achieve the standards expected in 'normal' life, both of which at least suggest ideas of deviance. Comparing a participant in the programme with a law abiding youth living at home, John, a worker at Corvedale Care stated that participants in the programme were not normal:

"he's been able to make friends with these two lads and been able to go out and *play as normal kids would do*".

The same worker goes onto describe the abnormal background from which he perceives young offenders come:

"'aking them out in that environment gives them the space to do that kind of thinking without having all the other clutter that they, they're usually concentrating on back in their normal world, *or as normal as it is*"  
emphasis added.

Other respondents refer to young offenders' inability to achieve things which 'normal' youths would, for example:

"I think to get to the point where you are offending you've usually felt that's you've failed, because they've probably failed in school, they've probably failed with their family"  
Secretary to the Sail Training Association.

This discourse of failure fits with Foucault's own idea of criminal deviance. He argued that criminals were labelled as deviant, not only because of their criminal acts, but because of their delinquency; that is a life history of failing to achieve the standard expected by the 'norm' - in terms of school, family and society (1991b). Though outdoor adventure providers shy away from the term 'deviant', they clearly utilise the idea that young offender are different from normal (law abiding youths), and that this difference rests not simply in their criminal acts but in their whole personality and life history.

Though the language of deviance is being disputed, the effect of the constructions in separating the deviant from the normal is still very much in evidence, giving support for a Foucauldian interpretation. Despite the obvious reluctance to use terms of deviance, the normal /deviant dichotomy is clearly being used to identify 'deviance' (behaviour that does not fit the social norm, and separate those 'deviant' from 'normal' society). Using the normal/deviant dichotomy, even when there is an expressed avowal against it, illustrates the pervasiveness of this disciplinary mechanism. This way of viewing the world has become so naturalised that, though attempts have been made to think outside these naturalised boundaries and to dispute such constructions, they continue to permeate the language of even their critics.

#### **6.2.1.2 THE PARTITIONING OF INDIVIDUALS**

A second disciplinary tactic identified by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* relating to the art of distribution is the spatial partitioning of subjects within a disciplinary space. The enclosed group of 'deviants' is further divided into individual subjects, each of which has an assigned location, so that 'each individual has his[sic] own place and each place its individual' (1991b: 142). The deviant population is therefore not only enclosed from normal society but also from one another.

The contemporary use of outdoor adventure can be interpreted as utilising the disciplinary tactic of partitioning individuals, although this is not immediately obvious. Most outdoor adventure organisations use a combination of shared accommodation and 'outdoor' settings (involving expeditions and living under canvas) which is not obviously partitioned. On the level of physical boundaries it may appear that groupings of individuals are encouraged, not dissipated through outdoor adventure practice. But, although the programmes studied may frequently lack a formally divided architectural space, the 'spaces' where outdoor adventure programmes occur can be interpreted as disciplinary, because they involve strategies used to achieve the same outcomes that

Foucault associated with the use of partitioning, albeit without the material isolation of individuals. First, outdoor adventure providers employ tactics which prevent the formation of dangerous relationships, whilst encouraging those seen as positive, and second, they individualise the participants by collating knowledge of individuals which can be used at any moment to assess and to judge that person and their behaviours. These functions will be investigated below.

### **6.2.1.2a THE INFLUENCE ON RELATIONSHIPS**

Foucault argued that the disciplinary partitioning of individuals had the aim of eliminating the ‘unusable and dangerous co-agulation’ of bodies. In outdoor adventure programmes this is partially achieved through the physical transfer of subjects from the dangerous, amorphous, unknown and unorganised mass that constitutes their home communities, to a specially organised enclosed group in which the individual elements are known, via the strategies of enclosure. This separates the individual from the negative influence of peers and other influential persons in their background, creating a gross binary partition between the dangerous mass and the individuals who are to be ‘rehabilitated’.

However, partitioning has more than separation as its aim because this strategy was used to control relationships between individuals. As Foucault argued, partitioning was ‘to set up useful communications and disrupt others’ (1991b: 143). Interview scripts can be interpreted to show that outdoor activity providers manipulate relationships between individuals in order to replace negative associations (the peer influence and relationships in youths’ home communities) with relationships viewed as positive. Positive relationships are encouraged between the individual young offenders on the programme, between the programme staff and the subject, and, on the courses which try to mix young offenders and non-offenders (Sail Training Association, Fairbridge, Venture Scotland), between the two.

At the risk of appearing to ignore the agency of participants, the relationships formed on these outdoor adventure programmes appear to be at least partially under the control of outdoor adventure providers. Relationships are manipulated within an artificially created group setting. At the most basic level, this power lies in the selection of the group. The selection process delimits potential relationships which might form, in so far as they can only occur between people included on the course.

There is a clear wish amongst outdoor adventure providers that relationships between course participants should develop as a consequence of the experiences of the course and not as a result of other shared associations outwith the knowledge and realm of the providers. The Sail Training Organisation, Venture Trust and Fairbridge for example attempt to avoid groups of young people who come from the same area participating in the same voyage or programme:

“If we had three people from one town we would probably say, we’d try and keep them different so they don’t know anybody”  
Manager of Venture Trust.

This is to prevent unintended and negatively perceived associations between those participants:

“I must admit the one time we did have a funny session, that was when there were Liverpool youths that had come up on the ship and they’d joined in Aberdeen. Now there again was another reason why we try not to have too many people from the same place because otherwise they do get a bit cliquey, and there was about half a dozen of them”  
Sail Training Secretary.

This avoidance of these relationships is based on the fear that uncontrolled relationships may be disruptive, or in Foucault’s term ‘dangerous’. For example, the youths who knew one another from Liverpool on the sail training ship left the ship, went to the local police and claimed they’d been thrown off the ship and needed money to go home. This had negative outcomes for the youths, who dropped out of a potential rewarding experience, and the organisation itself, which was disparaged to the police. Relationships based on uncontrollable associations are therefore viewed as detrimental and attempts are made to prevent them.



The Renaissance Maritime Trust also aimed to avoid relationships forming which could interfere with the intended aims of the programme. It was felt that including both male and female participants on a voyage would result in relationships that could detract participants' attention from the course. This concern resulted in same gender programmes:

“You can imagine if you did mix the crews of the wrong sort when they're emotionally underdeveloped, that if you had ten girls and twenty boys or even the other way around, the tensions would be there which would take their minds off ...”

Director of Renaissance Maritime Trust.

The development of relationships perceived to be negative (either because based on shared experiences unrelated to outdoor adventure, or because they are perceived to divert attention from course aims) are therefore inhibited via selection procedures.

Moreover, outdoor adventure programmes do not simply aim to manipulate relationship between individuals on the course, but to also change participants' existing relationships (family and peer group) *replacing* friends from their home with those made on outdoor adventure courses. Outdoor adventure providers argue that participants find relationships developed on outdoor adventure programmes more rewarding and fulfilling than those in their home background. Positive associations forged through outdoor adventure therefore replace old dangerous loyalties in home communities. This internalises the gross portioning process between the participant, and his/her home background, because what was initially a constructed artificial and enforced separation becomes one that is maintained through the choice of the individual. This is well illustrated in the following anecdote:

“I think, it's Drake, they go abroad for a long time and they come back, they've been away for about nine months. I remember hearing a story from Mossie or something. A real hard nut. Went away and then he came back full of beans. 'I'll tell my mates about this in Mossie.' And he just sort of went, but, 'Why are they doing that, why are they so small minded?' Incredible. Because his whole world had changed, had been transcended. He has a totally different set of values to the people he used to interact with”

Director of The Renaissance Maritime Trust.



Three programmes, the Sail Training Association, The Venture Trust and Airborne Initiative *explicitly* try to replace peer influence with that of law abiding youths. This is a deliberate strategy to control relationship by encouraging those these as positive and useful to develop. In the Sail Training Association young offenders are placed on different watches:

“ [W]e usually have one [young offender] in each watch so that they can’t clique together”  
Sail Training Association.

Because contact between different watches is very limited, this strategy encourages the youths to make acquaintances with non-offending youths rather than other offenders. Venture Trust also attempted to create relationship between young offenders and law abiding youths:

“[T]he original idea was, which is now really unclear as to where it came from, it’s probable that it was a ministerial opinion, that putting young offenders with young people who weren’t offenders was likely to change the young offenders for the better. And the original concept was that young people that work for Zenico, ICI, Marks and Spencers and police cadets would come along and provide 50% of the participant group and the other 50% would be on probation. But people from Zenica, ICI, Marks and Spencers didn’t want to come on the course as participants so it tended to be other young people at risk”  
Director of the Venture Trust.

The Airborne Initiative tried to encourage relationships between young offenders and ex-soldiers, who were described as:

“well motivated, high esteem, well modelled type corporals who were basically in charge of their own section, had been doing all this stuff, and were used to good hard work, things like this. They thought at the time to take those people to take a group of low esteem young offenders, the complete opposite end of the scale, put the two of them together basically, and through osmosis or whatever you like to call it, out of this would come someone who’s probably down the middle of the road, and actually the theory’s probably pretty good”  
Deputy Manager, Airborne Initiative.

The replacement of negative home relationships with more positive ones is also a very important aim of social workers who recommend outdoor adventure courses. Practice team manager 2 claimed that involvement with outdoor activities for youths was important because:

“it means they’re interacting socially with a range of people, different people from who they normally interact with, maybe people who are less likely to get involved with crime of some sort.”

Outdoor adventure therefore manipulates relationships by replacing associations with the dangerous (other offenders and relationships in their home communities) with associations with the disciplined. It also has the explicit disciplinary aim of reducing the likelihood of young offenders committing further offences.

This strategy could alternatively be seen as an attempt to disrupt the deviant/normal dichotomy. By arguing that relationships between normal and deviant youths are possible and should be encouraged, outdoor adventure providers could be interpreted as trying to challenge that dichotomy. However, in the 'mixing' of the young offenders and non offenders, the very dichotomy apparently being disputed is still being utilised. Young offenders are being positioned as 'other' to a docile law abiding population. Being this 'other' carries overtly negative associations, as it is the 'other' who benefits from the mixing, and develops into a better self. The dichotomy is further reinforced by the failure of attempts to integrate the perceived binary - the Venture Trust's plan to mix offenders with non-offenders failed because of a lack of interest among non-offenders to participate in these programmes.

Although outdoor adventure programmes do not attempt physically to partition individuals, the aims of partitioning are met in outdoor adventure by other means. 'Dangerous' amalgamations of individuals are broken up and replaced by what are perceived to be productive relations, the purpose of which is clearly disciplinary.

#### **6.2.1.2b AN INDIVIDUALISING STRATEGY**

The second function that Foucault attributed to partitioning - individualisation - is also accomplished without physical barriers. Interviews reveal a very strong onus upon the individuality of each participant, recognising their differing needs, abilities and backgrounds. Outdoor adventure does not consist of formulaic procedures into which everyone is placed; instead it is moulded

around individual capacities, reflecting a philosophy in which the individual is perpetually stressed, assessed and about whom knowledge is obtained. For example:

“One takes the view that development training courses are about providing opportunities for the individual to develop within a group setting. In other words it’s not about group development. We’re not trying to make a management team or football team. We’re trying to use that team involvement to get peer support, peer reaction and interaction *in order to develop the individual*”  
Director of the Venture Trust, emphasis added.

Emphasis upon the individual can be seen in methods of supervision and assessment. At the Airborne Initiative, each young offender has a key worker with whom it is hoped they will develop a close relationship but who is also responsible for supervising, assessing and judging the young offender. At Youth at Risk each youth has a ‘mentor’ to assist individual development, but also to keep an eye on that participant, and ensure he/she attends meetings. Some organisations take the awareness of individuality to the furthest extent possible, with activities proceeding on a one-to-one basis at Bryn Melyn, Corvedale Care and Turnaround; a strategy which enables the consistent observation and assessment of individuals. Social workers too comment on the need to know the individual; practice team manger 5 claimed:

“I think the business of social work is about assessing. It’s about assessing what intervention is going to be meaningful, is going to benefit *any one individual*”.

There is therefore great emphasis placed on observing and knowing the individual.

Although individualisation is present in outdoor adventure programmes, as before, some providers ascribe non-disciplinary functions to the partitioning of individuals, for example it is claimed to:

- be necessary for effectiveness. Because people react in different ways, imposing a homogenous programme on a heterogeneous clientele will not always work:

“and you find this little crack and it opens up, and *its different for all of the.*”

Chris, worker at Corvedale Care, emphasis added,

- encourage trust and the development of relationships which allow

participants to reveal their problems:

“[H]e would never have spoken to me like that if we were knocking round the centre with other kids running round.”

John, worker at Corvedale Care,

- impart a sense of individuality to the participants:

“I think it’s the sense of individuation, and becoming an individual, that’s extremely difficult”

Director of West Coast Adventure, and

- show young offenders that they are valued for themselves:

“I think certainly with the young offender group if they realise that people do passionately care for them as people, not as a number, a statistic, a probationer, I think you’re onto a winner”

Team Leader at Airborne Initiative.

In two different ways, however, the individualisation evident within outdoor adventure programmes are overtly disciplinary. First, recognising a youth’s individuality is clearly linked to reducing offending levels. If a young person recognises his/her status as an individual, they may be more willing to act as an individual and withstand peer pressure, a frequently cited cause of offending:

“Most of the young people that I know that are involved in crime, or in the stages before that in the care system, actually have a strong sense of peer group and are actually very close to their peers and will do anything for their peers, and my view is that we need to teach people how to exist in a group, yes support that group towards the common aim, but also to be able to exist as an individual within that group, and that’s actually a much more difficult skill to teach our kids”

Manager of the Outdoor Resource Centre.

Thus, self awareness of individuality is thought to help overcome dependence upon peers. Second, individualisation enables the immediate assessment and judgement of individual capabilities, what Foucault termed, the ‘analytical’ use of space (1991b: 143). Within outdoor adventure each participant has his/her own records, programmes and key relationships. This recognition of young offenders’ individual natures, and the observation, assessment and judgement of young offenders as discrete units, is a clear reflection of Foucault’s ‘partitioning’ technique which revolved around gaining knowledge and understanding of *individual* subjects. Through outdoor adventure’s individual approach, the disciplinary aim of partitioning ‘to be able at each moment to

supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits' (1991b: 142) is enabled.

### **6.2.1.3 SUMMARY OF THE ART OF DISTRIBUTION**

The art of distribution, including the two specific tactics of enclosure and the partitioning of individuals, operates within outdoor adventure programmes, and can be interpreted as exerting disciplinary influences. Discipline proceeds through enclosure by labelling (implicitly, through differential treatment) young offenders as 'deviant', separating them from the rest of society, and attempting to replace 'dangerous' liaisons with those perceived as productive. Through individualisation, discipline proceeds by supervising, judging and recording knowledge about individuals, ensuring their whereabouts and qualities are known, and creating independent youths able to withstand peer pressure.

However, outdoor adventure is not *purely* disciplinary; other reasons (most often centred around improving the life experiences and providing for the welfare of young offenders) are suggested to explain the use of enclosure and individualisation. This makes the 'art of distribution' appear positive for both society (in the eradication of criminality) and for young offenders themselves, who are constructed as benefiting from their outdoor experiences.

### **6.2.2 CONTROL OF ACTIVITIES**

The second disciplinary technique Foucault identifies is the control of activities. This involves using time as productively as possible; for example, timetables ensure the permanent occupation of individuals enabling the exhaustive use of time. Moreover, activities as well as time are controlled; there is a proper way to perform every activity which optimises efficiency and which needs to be learned. Individuals are therefore trained to maximise their efficacy, and are constantly supervised to ensure activities are done 'correctly'. Outdoor adventure is now investigated to determine the presence or absence of each

of these strategies: the control over subjects' activities through timetables, the exhaustive use of time, and the control over activities.

### 6.2.2.1 TIMETABLES

Timetables are an integral part of most outdoor adventure programmes although the style varies, from a formal timetable that structures the whole course for all participants (for example the Airborne Initiative - fig. 6.1), to an individualised but structured use of time in which where young offenders have an input.

Corvedale Care, for example, establishes a 'working rhythm' with structured time during the week and free time at the weekend, and at Bryn Melyn:

"[A] detailed care plan will be drawn up, and within that, a week of programmes would be set for each young person which will incorporate probably some individual therapy, certainly some educational experience if they're below school age a full programme of tutoring. And to back all that up a series of activities.....Generally what would happen when we develop a working programme is the young person who gets it ..they will have an input into how that programme is developed *so each day we literally have a timetable*"

Director of Bryn Melyn, emphasis added.

Fairbridge, Venture Trust and Venture Scotland also run structured programmes and Turnaround, though being less structured, emphasises the importance of keeping children busy. Timetables therefore order time and, through making sure people are active at different parts of the day, maximise their use of time.

This importance of timetabling is echoed in social workers' emphasis on outdoor adventure's ability to 'structure' the time of young offenders or at risk youths, one of the most frequently cited benefits of outdoor adventure. One quote contrasts youths' generally unstructured use of time with the structured qualities of outdoor adventure programmes:

"A lot of the kids we work with who are doing nothing....they can't normally manage structure, so they can't go to school, can't maintain regular visits with their mum, some of them can't maintain themselves in the community with the structures and the boundaries, don't come home at ten o'clock, come home



when they feel like it. All these kinds of things. They know they've got to get up the next day and jog twenty miles with a rucksack on to go set up a camp, or to a shelter stone or something like that. I think that sets them up and running"  
Social Worker F.

Team practice manager 6 succinctly claimed:

"It's about providing structure for people ... It was about getting people onto a regular lifestyle".

The controlled use of time is therefore considered very important by both social workers and outdoor adventure providers.

Timetables are widely recognised to have disciplinary effects. One obvious disciplinary implication of timetables is that it makes youths stick to rules and regulations (i.e. being in a certain place at a certain time). This contributes to the production of docile and obedient subjects; disciplined individuals who do what they are told. Social worker B argued that the lack of structured time in individual lives revealed an absence of discipline:

"[B]ecause a number of these young people haven't been in the habit of getting up early and going to work, *they don't have discipline in a sense*"  
emphasis added.

The corollary of this is that the structured use of time indicates a disciplined individual. Timetables are perceived as intrinsically disciplinary because they ensure participants in outdoor adventure turn up for particular activities at particular times. However, they are also perceived to have wider social effects. Compliance with social regulations, learned through timetables, is thought to extrapolate out to other social structures such as attending school or work. Although conforming to timetables requires a *specific* form of obedience (where to be at a particular time), the self-discipline this produces is considered to be the foundation of a youth's general obedience to many other social rules and regulations considered necessary for functioning in mainstream existence, that is, it teaches obedience to social rules *in general*. This is illustrated in the quote below, given in response to a question asking 'what is the value of structured time?':

"Because I suppose life is structure isn't it? And if you're going to function in mainstream society, which is obviously what we want these young people to be able to do, they have to be able to conform to structure. To manage responsibilities, turn up on time, fulfil expectations" Social Worker F.



## COURSE PROGRAMME

**Fig. 6.1: AIRBORNE INITIATIVE TIMETABLE FOR THE FIRST WEEK  
OF THEIR NINE WEEK PROGRAMME**

Week 1 - Course 2/99		21 April 1999 - 22 June 1999				
Day	Phase	Wed 21 Apr	Thur 22 Apr	Fri 23 Apr	Sat 24 Apr	Sun 25 Apr
		INDUCTION		TEAM BUILDING		
Morning			09.00	09.00	Life Skill 1 (Goal Setting) Intro To Team Build Phase  Team Build  Activities Centre	Life Skills 2 Goals / Obstacles JS 1 Intro/ Assessment
			Healthy Living H & S Equipment Issue Trust Games Where's Where? Who's Who?	Mountain Bike Day: H & S : Sliding Checks / Skills Maintenance Centre Course  Local Area	Life Skill 2 (Goal Setting) Intro To Team Build Phase  Team Build  Activities Centre	Life Skills 3 Fact / Opinion Relevant / Irrelevant JS 2 : Job Market
Afternoon		14.30	13.30	15.30 16.00	"The Wall"  Review	Prepare / Depart for Bodly (Ruckuck Packing) Bodly Routine Review Admin.
		16.45 17.00	16.30 17.00	1 : 2 : 1 Intro	Review	Review Admin.
Evening		18.00 19.00	18.00 19.00	First Aid 1		Internal Project Planning PPE Manual Handling Risk Assessments
		Course Aims: TB Ground Rules Telephone /Games Discussion	Hopes and Fears  Team Games		Map Reading 1 (L.S) Assignment Body Map	L.S - Assignment Gather 3 Example Problems
Staff Notes		17.00	09.00 17.00			1 : 2 : 1 - 1 S/C Evening Meal 24 Hr Radlons
		Catering Indent Wk 1 Bodly Ration list Evening Meal All Staff In	All Managers Available Team Changes All Staff In			S/C Breakfast Packed Lunch
DUTY						Meal Sheets Traquair (24) Indents
SESSIONED						
UNSESSIONED						
DAYS OFF						

Timetables can be considered disciplinary in a third way because they prevent criminality by occupying an individual's time; i.e. through diversion. This function was cited by social worker C as the main reason he recommended Fairbridge outdoor adventure programmes to the youths under his supervision:

"It's not every day, but it's enough to take sometime out of where they would be sitting round, either doing nothing at home or drinking, drugs, driving, whatever it is. So it's giving them something to do themselves which is a bit more constructive, and certainly while they're there they can't be offending. I don't think being there per se is going to stop them offending but it's showing them there are other ways you can fill your time rather than offending."

Outdoor adventure programmes are therefore characterised by the structured use of time - all but one provider (analysed below) and most social workers emphasise its value. However, interviews not only attest to the use of timetables, they also suggest some of the specific ways that timetables are perceived to 'discipline' individuals. These include: teaching compliance to rules in a specific instance, which creates an obedience generalisable to all social regulations, and, by occupying youths' time, they act as a diversion.

#### **6.2.2.2 EXHAUSTIVE USE OF TIME**

One provider stands alone in an apparent dismissal of the value of timetabling activities, refusing to align structure with adventure and advocating spontaneity over precision and schedules. The director of West Coast Adventure says of his vision of adventure:

"I can say that it was to do with some form of spontaneity, and anyone setting up a course for young people should think about that. If you take young people from Craigmillar in Edinburgh or Easterhouse and take them to a big house somewhere with beds, televisions, things like that, you know a timetable, it's not much different from their lives...What we need to do is take them to something entirely different and have them really live outdoors and *not have too structured a programme*"  
emphasis added.

This rhetoric can be interpreted, not as an aversion to timetables, but as a condemnation of failing to maximise the use of time. Time which could be

spent doing outdoor activities is 'lost' by meeting physiological or other needs. This then is a clear commitment to another of Foucault's techniques of disciplining; the exhaustive use of time, in which the greatest intensity of use should be extracted from every possible moment. By including ever more activities into an outdoor adventure framework, the use of time can be maximised by turning all activities into learning opportunities. In West Coast Adventure's course, for example, meal times are not simply a time for eating but for learning which types of food are edible, how to collect or catch it effectively, how to kill it, cook it, and clean up after. Bed times become a search for sheltered areas and the construction of protection from the elements. In this programme all aspects of living become opportunities to learn the value of following rules and regulations, that is knowing which things are safe to eat, where it is best to set up camp, and so on. It therefore provides many opportunities to learn, and to practise obedience. West Coast Adventure was unique in the extent of its exhaustive use of time, but the aim, and functions it serves, appears to be an extension of the aims of timetabling.

#### **6.2.2.3 TEMPORAL ELABORATION OF THE ACT / CORRELATION OF BODY AND GESTURES / BODY OBJECT ARTICULATION**

Foucault argued that disciplinary institutions dominate subjects through exercising control over their activities as well as time; through deciding and enforcing a 'correct' way of working which maximises effectiveness and productivity. This 'correct' way involves subjects complying with regulations surrounding the performance of the act. Foucault argued that such regulations were threefold. First, regulations stipulate the correct form of activity (the temporal elaboration of the act); second, regulations dictate how to relate these gestures to the body (correlation of body and gestures); and third, regulations control the relationship between the body and instruments needed for the act (body-object articulation). Alongside maximising an individual's productivity (ensuring individuals use the most effective techniques to accomplish their acts), by encouraging compliance with a multitude of regulations about how to do activities, these three tactics produced obedient subjects. Obedience is

not just promoted by encouraging subjects to do an activity (a single site of obedience), but in creating a plethora of rules and regulations around the process of conducting activities, the occasions for obedience, are multiplied, inuring people to the idea of obedience and providing practice in the performance of obedience. Foucault treats these three tactics separately. However, because they are different ways to fulfil the same function, and are in fact very difficult to separate, they are amalgamated in the following analysis to provide a single measure of outdoor adventure's 'disciplinarity'.

Disciplinary institutions, it is argued, multiply the sites of regulation to inculcate subjects into docility and productivity and to increase their obedience; and outdoor adventure provides many such occasions where obedience is required. On a basic level young offenders are taught the correct way of 'doing' outdoor activities. There is an immediacy of consequences to these activities which make it clearly apparent when something is done right or wrong. With repercussions of 'inaccurate' conduct ranging from discomfort to the risk of death, unpleasant consequences encourage fast adoption of techniques which avoid personal suffering or the suffering of others (see Bushby 1997). In a variation on Foucault's Panoptic principle, behaviour is not enforced through constant potential visibility, but through the constant threat of unpleasant consequences if things are not done 'properly':

"... encouraging them to take some responsibility for their own well being when you can in simple things. You know quickly dry your clothing off now, before it rains put your waterproofs on before you're wet through not after"  
Chris, worker at Corvedale Care.

This is also recognised by practice team manager 9:

"I think in most of these outdoor activities there's people safety that has to be observed and the safety of the other people that they're with, ...I think it makes the point more easily. If everyone else is going to fall five hundred feet if you don't do your bit. I think it's having a sense of, it gives people boundaries that they know are there and I think it can let them be freer to enjoy themselves within that, than if there was no boundary, no structure. They may not like the rules, but I think that it is good for them to operate within that. They find that they manage much better. And they are going to have to learn to operate within a structure anyway whatever happens because we all do. If you don't, you end up in the most structured situation of all

where you have no choices”.

These quotes suggest that the aim of outdoor adventure is to teach participants obedience rather than to teach them specific outdoor adventure activities. Through recognition of the boundaries and structures involved in doing activities correctly, the last quote illustrates clearly how individuals are perceived to learn obedience to rules and regulations through outdoor activities. This quote also shows, like timetables, that compliance with rules learned in the context of outdoor adventure is expected to be reproduced more generally in other areas of participants’ lives. It can therefore be considered a training in obedience. Consideration of the varied nature of outdoor adventure activities adds to the argument that outdoor adventure teaches obedience. The tasks learned in outdoor activities programmes are many: canoeing, hill walking, abseiling, rope courses, washing up, tent pitching, navigating, cooking, to name but a few. This panoply suggests it is not the *activity* that is of prime importance, but the learning of *obedience*. In outdoor adventure, disciplinary power is not aimed at producing efficient climbers, abseilers and so on, but on the production of individuals who learn to follow instructions and commands. This is recognised in the following quote which contrasts the initial attitude of participants, who are resistant to rules and regulations, with their attitude to these same rules, once sailing has illustrated the value of obedience:

“they might not necessarily like what happens at first because they do not like being told this is what they’ve got to do, but always at the end of the voyage they’ve realised what people are trying to do. And it’s not because they’re being told to do these things for the sake of it, if they don’t do it the ship won’t sail and you know, they’re putting other people’s lives at risk and they’ve got to behave in a certain way otherwise things won’t work”

Sail Training Association Secretary.

Outdoor activities train people to be obedient.

#### **6.2.2.4 SUMMARY OF CONTROL OF ACTIVITIES**

The tactic of control over activities is clearly present in outdoor adventure activities. Timetables, the exhaustive use of time, and control over ‘doing’



activities are frequently referred to in interview scripts and explicitly recognised as having disciplinary intent. Unlike the art of distribution, this disciplinary role appears to be the only interpretation of the control of activities. The presence of timetables and rules is explained in terms of learning to comply with structures and boundaries, and while this is constructed as beneficial to young offenders, they are beneficial because they incite discipline.

### **6.2.3 ORGANISATION OF GENESES**

A third disciplinary tactic recognised by Foucault was to make ever increasing use of individuals' time through organisation of geneses. Through this, a subject's development is graduated through time from easy to increasingly complex tasks. Progression is examined at every stage, leading to hierarchical differentiation between subjects on the basis of ability (chapter 3, section 3.2.1). The organisation of geneses is argued to be disciplinary because, through the observation and recording of subject progression opportunities for regular intervention, gaining knowledge, exercising control and correction are produced. Also, knowing individual's abilities makes it possible to use them in the most effective and profitable way, and last, it ensures the temporal continuity of power's effects throughout subjects' lives (1991b: 160).

There are two ways in which the organisation of geneses can be interpreted through outdoor adventure. Progression can be recorded, assessed and ranked within the outdoor programme, and/or, more generally, participation in the programme itself can be seen as one of many stages of an individual's development. Both have disciplinary implications.

#### **6.2.3.1 PROGRESSION WITHIN A PROGRAMME**

Participants' advancement within outdoor adventure programmes (or lack of it) is recorded and individuals are ranked according to their abilities. Courses are often structured to lead participants from simple to more complex elements.

In the Airborne Initiative, participants progress from being told what to do to being able to work relatively independently:

“the way we go about it is by gradual empowerment. So they start off and it’s quite directive. It’s not shouting and screaming but it’s quite directive. As I said before we set the standards, everything must come up to that standard of cleanliness, hygiene, health and safety. Then gradually we’ll pull the supervision away to allow them, and train them to be able to take this empowerment themselves, so that they can go forward and do it themselves and actually realise that they, it’s quite a good feeling to be able to want to do this for yourself, and see that you can set standards and achieve them ... and so at the end of that, by the time they leave here, they should be able to continue doing it on their own without our supervision”  
Deputy Manager.

Thus individuals progress from one stage to another within a programme. Although this example suggests that progression is achieved through informal progressions - as there are no clearly defined stages and exams - rather than the strict divisions that Foucault recognises in his examples of schools (passing set examinations) or the army (moving through the ranks of ‘sergeant, corporal, *anpessades*, lance-corporal.....’ (1991b: 159 original emphasis)), the progression is nevertheless clearly present. It can, in fact be argued that such informal judgements of progression offer more opportunities for discipline to operate than formal examinations because observation and judgement is continuous rather than concentrated into particular examination times.

There is also evidence that participants are subjected to specific formal examinations more akin to Foucault’s examples. At the end of the Airborne Initiative programme, performance is assessed, and a participant’s rank changes from a trainee to a ‘graduate’; the same is done by Youth at Risk. Certificates recognising achievements made on outdoor adventure courses are also given by Fairbridge and Venture Scotland. Unlike the Airborne Initiative graduation, which marks the successful completion of the programme, these two mark the successful accomplishment of *one stage* of development and signify the move to another ‘rank’ or stage; Fairbridge participants who have completed the basic course move on to longer term work, and Venture Scotland participants progress from a basic bothy to extended bothies. Corvedale Care

recognises and awards subject progression through prizes rather than certificates, awarding progressively larger prizes for individual progress at certain times during a person's residency:

"There are prizes built into it for attaining certain levels in the course of the programme. And the prizes are really linked to the outdoor world where you can get a maglite in a little presentation box if they do really well in the first fortnight or so. And after the twenty eight day run if they've completed it they can get a fleece"

John, worker at Corvedale Care.

The Renaissance Maritime Trust also proposes to work in ways which recognise the graduated progression of individuals. After initial referral, there is a period of training, after which, if the participant shows good enough ability and attitude, they will have the opportunity to sail on the tall ship:

"We came up with a training programme which basically consists of a sorting out period, because you can't just throw a lot of young people on a ship. And it's graduated, in the sense that we would do two weeks with outward bound type activities, on the fitness bit, but on small dingies. Then we would go to the Ocean Youth Club, so they would then be [on] bigger yachts for about a week or so, and then a couple of weeks on the Sail Training Association so a bit of rigging work and all the rest. And they'd be a week of acclimatising to the Renaissance Ship, and then a three month voyage.....And having survived the first six weeks and gone through it and graduated from it if you like, even if they don't go they still get some training certificates out of that. And if they're very good they may get a chance to go [on the boat] later,....but got to sort out if you like if they're physically strong enough to do it, and if they're motivated."

Here the progression is marked not simply by change in complexity of training (from dingies to tall ships, but also change in rank, from trainee to sailor). After the completion of the voyage, there is also further work and progress through accreditation of NVQs, a further stage in participants' development.

Outdoor adventure programmes clearly assess, record and rank individuals throughout the programme's length and at their completion. Individuals are recognised to progress through informal observation or more formal examinations, and are ranked accordingly. This has clear parallels with Foucault's idea of the capitalisation of individuals' time. Judging a person's ability provides opportunities to know them, measure their abilities and

attitudes against others, rank them, reward them or correct (normalise) them if necessary. Also, as a person's abilities are seen to improve more is demanded of them, ensuring the continued utilisation of their full capacities. As the Airborne Initiative progresses more is required from each participant - they are asked to internalise discipline and to control their own actions rather than rely on external motivation; in the Renaissance Maritime Trust individuals move from the initial programme to physically and mentally demanding activities. These two examples illustrate very well how progression through geneses increase both *obedience* - in Airborne's case becoming self-regulating instead of having discipline imposed - and *productivity* - in the Renaissance Maritime Trust participants progress from trainees to sailors who 'man' a tall ship and deliver aid to places in need.

However, like enclosure and the partitioning of individuals, explanations of the progressive advancement of individuals do not always refer to discipline. In the Airborne Initiative quote above, increasing obedience of participants was termed 'empowerment' and participants were argued to feel 'good' as a consequence of this empowerment. Social workers also value the recognition of progress through certification or prizes - not (as least explicitly) because it is a way of knowing individuals' abilities, maximising their productivity and being a source of obedience - but because it gives the participant positive feelings which, it is argued, they have rarely achieved in their lives. For example, social worker B claimed:

" [S]ome of the young men haven't had a great deal of achievements, the way they perceive them, in their lifetime. They've had problems in school, they've maybe been told by their teachers they're useless and [will] never amount to much, and some young men say that when they come to see me. So it [completing Airborne] gives them something to talk about in their community, because they have very much humdrum lives. And so they have a sense of pride and achievement. They can say that they've abseiled off a sixty foot bridge, or they've gone away for a week's gruelling living under canvas and orienteering. So that's wonderful for them. Something they've never done before and never envisaged they'd be able to do. You can really pat them on the back. The graduation ceremony is always very popular, and you can see the sense of pride in the young people when their families come down and their social workers come down, and when through the graduation day with

them when they got their certificate, and it was verbalised over and over by the people who ran the course and by other worthies who support it, how they acknowledge the hard work and effort that's gone into it. So yes, they're entitled to their pride."

This discourse is very widespread. Social worker E described the very positive experience that one client felt after completing the Fairbridge basic course and receiving a certificate:

"The lad, he finished the course, and he thought it was great and he came running down to show me here.....to me in itself that was worthwhile because it was the first time he'd felt really good about himself for as long as he could remember. And he was the most excited I had ever seen him."

Social worker A also commented on the pride obtained from certificates for finishing Airborne, claiming that 'the certificates are on their mummies' walls, pride of place'. Outdoor adventure providers therefore identify strategies which can be interpreted as the organisation of the geneses, but which are often explained in non-disciplinary terms.

The 'fit' between outdoor adventure and organisation of geneses, as analysed so far, can be queried by the short duration of these programmes run, which differs from the long-term nature of these strategies that Foucault recognised (1991b). However, outdoor programmes do not exist in isolation, but can be seen as part of long term individual change, and their effects are not limited to rehabilitative programmes but extend beyond them.

### **6.2.3.2 THE OUTDOOR PROGRAMME AS PART OF PROGRESSIVE CHANGE**

Outdoor adventure programmes embody the organisation of geneses in a general context of continual individual change. Within this general perspective, attending an outdoor adventure course does not mark the *commencement* of personal development, but marks the attainment of a certain level of subject development. Similarly, the completion of the programme is not envisaged as the *end*, but is the accomplishment of another level of development. Outdoor adventure programmes are therefore part of a long term organisation of

geneses, as well as embodying those same strategies - on a smaller scale - within themselves.

Because outdoor adventure providers and social workers determine an individual's readiness to go on a course, acceptance on a programme is a judgement of an individual's abilities: it acknowledges that a certain level of development has been reached, and that the individual is ready to move onto another stage. So some people are characterised as having the potential to change through outdoor adventure whilst others are not. The Sail Training Association, for example, asks social workers to assess potential clients' ability to benefit from the course, and supplement this judgement by meeting and assessing candidates themselves:

"we contact the social services at the Grampian Council and they then vet young people. If they feel that they are actually responding to activities with them, they will then suggest to them that they might benefit from taking part in one of the voyages.....we always meet them before they go. Not only do we get the report we also go and meet the young offenders with their social workers"

Sail Training Association Secretary.

The Venture Trust also asks social workers to assess potential clients, while the Airborne Initiative and Venture Scotland meet and screen potential participants themselves. A Corvedale Care worker (Chris) also emphasised how important it was to make sure participants wanted to change and were ready to change - if participants did not have these qualities, the placement was wasted and opportunities for other participants disrupted. Social workers also assess youths before they recommend outdoor adventure, as not all young offenders and at risk youths are considered as having the potential to benefit from these experiences:

"adults [have to be] very clear about why people are where they are and what is hoped to be achieved by that, and what is expected of the young person, and provided they [young people] are going along with that, I would have no problem in organising the activities. If they're [young people] still all over the place and they're not co-operating it might be quite risky for such a young person to be given that kind of freedom"

Practice Team Manager 9.

Selection procedures may then be considered as a stage in the progression of



individuals, as some are ranked as 'rehabilitable' and therefore go on programmes whereas others are not. Outdoor adventure programmes' selection procedures are therefore a form of examination through which individuals are assessed, and which contributes to the knowledges about individuals and therefore the judgements made about them.

The completion of outdoor adventure programmes can also be considered to be a boundary between the attainment of one level of development and movement onto the next stage of development. Venture Scotland recognises that their provision is a starting point for change, that they are not an end in themselves but that one of their most important roles is a link to other agencies. The Airborne Initiative too does not see graduation as the end, but a spring board for youths' further development and introduction to work, college courses and so on:

"we spend a lot of time looking at what a person can do in their areas, trying to organise training schemes or colleges that will be really useful ... Currently we've got some interviews lined up for some, they're absolutely, the enthusiasm is, they're becoming disruptive at some points because they're so happy, so excited where they've never felt that they had anything sorted before"  
Team Manager, Airborne Initiative.

So Airborne Initiative is a self development programme, but, it is also a stepping stone for further development in education or work. What youths learn at Airborne facilitates the achievement of what they had previously thought impossible. This is progression in itself, but it is also perceived to lead onto other courses and training in the work sphere.

Outdoor adventure programmes, then, are conceived not as a stand alone event but as being only one stage in a longer, wider process of change, with precedents and antecedents. This role is well summarised by the director of Venture Trust:

"[I]f it were a stand alone event three weeks wouldn't be enough. I think it's part of a process. If they haven't started off I'm unlikely to, assuming that the behaviour or attitudes or both of an individual are such that they are not fitting in well to the wider society, then, and they want to change and they've started and the motion of things are not going well for them whatever that might be, and they want to do something about it. They start

on the course. We're initially involved with the social worker or probation worker and then they've already done the work just by that fact that they've talked to someone about it....maybe through obligation .....so we're part of the middle of the process and then they go back in the end."

Outdoor activity programmes are therefore internally divided into increasingly difficult segments of time, and are also part of a series of longer term developments through which youths progress via external assessments of their capabilities.

### **6.2.3.3 SUMMARY OF ORGANISATION OF GENESES**

Alongside the disciplinary tactics of the art of distribution, and the control of activities, outdoor adventure can be interpreted as embodying the tactic of the organisation of the geneses, within the programmes themselves, and as one stage in a wider organisation of the geneses. However, interviewees often interpret this tactic in non-disciplinary ways. While its presence is obvious, it is perceived as beneficial to the participant, who experiences feelings of empowerment and who has increased opportunities to participate in further programmes, training and development. Once again, then, outdoor adventure uses disciplinary tactics which appear to serve more than disciplinary functions.

### **6.2.4 COMPOSITION OF FORCES**

The last disciplinary tactic identified in *Discipline and Punish* is the composition of forces (chapter 3 section 3.2.1). *Discipline and Punish* shows how subjects are situated in space (lateral composition of forces) and time (temporal composition of forces) alongside other subjects in order to maximise the forces which can be extracted from them all to produce what Foucault calls an 'effective machine' (1991b:164).

Lateral composition of forces is hinted at in interviews, but is not as obvious as other discourses identified in this analysis. There is an emphasis of teamwork

as an outcome of outdoor adventure, which suggests the lateral composition of forces as individuals are forced to work together to accomplish their aims. For example, the success or failure of an activity or expedition is shown to be a direct consequence of how young offenders fulfil their roles and work together to produce an effective machine:

“with the ship they have to do it, everyone has to play their part  
otherwise the ship won’t sail”

Sail Training Association Secretary.

Lateral composition of forces is important not because of its ability to make ships sail or an expedition a success, but because it develops a ‘team player’ attitude. Foucault argued that an important part of the productive and docile individual is that it is a team player; it knows and fulfils its role to enable the efficient running of society. By inculcating team spirit, outdoor adventure contributes to the effective social machine Foucault envisaged as produced by disciplines.

The second element of the composition of forces is ensuring that the maximum force can be extracted from every moment of a person’s life, from being trained as a child to teaching as an older person. The limited time of outdoor activities means that it is difficult to see such a life long tactic operating, but there is evidence that outdoor programmes *do* maximise the forces obtained from their participants. This is most easily seen on the programmes themselves (organisation of the courses also ensures that that maximum use is made of a person’s abilities at any one time), yet, even *after* course completion, outdoor adventure continues to ‘extract’ forces from some participants. Successful participants are often invited to return and work for the programmes of which they were once clients; a exploitation of forces at a later date. West Coast Adventure employed one participant and explained that, although this was a good outcome for the youth, the programme also benefited by gaining an effective leader. Other providers also use previous participants as workers, volunteers and mentors on later programmes. Renaissance Maritime Trust envisages participants returning as ships officers, Venture Scotland allows participants to return as volunteer outdoor activity leaders, and Youth at Risk encourages participants to return as mentors, people who support the young

offender through the programme. Youths' advancement into increasingly complex roles reflects the stages of their personal development and corresponding changes in rank (a reflection of the organisation of geneses), but it also shows how the most useful forces are taken from individuals through outdoor adventure either as a trainee (replacing deviance with conformity) or through using the skills and attitudes learned as a trainee to teach to others. This is a clear example of the capitalisation of a person's time. As their abilities increase, more is expected from them. In these instances, where young offenders return to work on rehabilitative programmes, they have become both docile (obeying social norms) and productive, in that they are helping to discipline and rehabilitate others.

### **6.2.5 SUMMARY TO DISCIPLINARY TACTICS**

All of the four tactics which Foucault argued characterised disciplinary institutions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be recognised as operating within contemporary practices of outdoor adventure. This suggests two things; that outdoor adventure utilises disciplinary tactics and is therefore disciplinary in a Foucauldian sense, and that Foucault's analysis of historical institutions remains an important way to analyse contemporary disciplinary institutions. However, there is a clear sub-theme; some disciplinary interpretations of these tactics are resisted or supplemented by social workers and outdoor adventure providers. Not all disciplinary tactics are re-interpreted this way: the control of activities for example is widely recognised as disciplinary, but the resistance is extensive enough to suggest that outdoor adventure cannot totally be understood in disciplinary terms.

### **6.3 INSTRUMENTS OF CONTROL**

Foucault argued that the four disciplinary tactics which controlled subjects and their activities and thoughts were enforced by two overarching instruments: hierarchical observation and the normalising judgement. Although two

distinct tools, these are argued to operate together in a partnership. They make sure that individuals comply with disciplinary tactics by observing their behaviour, judging this in relation to desired standards and punishing deviancies (chapter 3 section 3.2.1). The relevance of these to outdoor adventure is examined next.

### **6.3.1 HIERARCHICAL OBSERVATION AND THE NORMALISING GAZE IN OUTDOOR ADVENTURE**

The strategies of observation and judgement which Foucault recognised as so fundamental to the disciplinary process are an intrinsic part of contemporary outdoor adventure provision. Hierarchical observation and normalising judgement (supervision of youths by staff members) - for ease of reference this will be referred to as observation - is recognised by all providers and social workers as an important element in outdoor adventure programmes. Moreover, this is supplemented by three further relationships: observation from outsiders (external observation), youths observing each other (lateral observation), and youths observing themselves (internalised observation). This suggests that outdoor adventure is indeed disciplinary, but that the disciplinary influence comes from more sources than Foucault imagined. The hierarchical gaze and internalised observation supports Foucault's thesis; he argued that through the constant threat of potential hierarchical observation, individuals learnt to observe and judge their own behaviours, internalising discipline. However, external and lateral observation indicate respectively societal and equalitarian forms of discipline. It has been recognised by Eskes et al (1998) that Foucault's conceptualisation of discipline was limited because it falsely confined observation and normalisation to institutional settings when, in reality, they are widespread features of society; institutional and non-institutional. Recognition of the operation of external and lateral observation supports this criticism, and suggests that outdoor adventure discipline proceeds from many sources. This does not undermine Foucault's thesis, but reveals the necessity to look beyond the institution and its hierarchical relationships.

Each of the four types of observation; hierarchical, external, lateral and internal will be examined to show, first, that outdoor adventure does indeed use techniques of observation to discipline participants - once again reaffirming its Foucauldian disciplinary nature – and, second, to understand how Foucault's disciplinary thesis is unable *fully* to account for all the different forms of observation within outdoor adventure programme.

### **6.3.1.1 HIERARCHICAL OBSERVATION**

On outdoor adventure programmes effective hierarchical observation is facilitated through intense supervision. High staff to youth ratios, and in some programmes (Airborne Initiative, Corvedale Care, Turnaround and Bryn Melyn) permanent supervision, ensure high participant visibility:

“We have a very high staff ratio. We do a lot of individual work.  
We supervise the children 24 hours a day”  
Colin, Director of Turnaround.

This level of supervision is perceived as quite unusual in criminal intervention for young offenders and a very valuable part of the outdoor adventure experience:

“What we do is provide a very powerful intensive period. You think of the contact time of a probation officer, an hour a week, sometimes an hour a fortnight for, say three months, assuming they attend all sessions. They get more contact time here in the first day”  
Director of Venture Trust.

This same value is also recognised by social workers. Practice team manager 2 contrasted the ‘few words, half an hour interview that’s all’ of supervision and probation orders, with the intensive observation, supervision and work that can be achieved through outdoor adventure activities.

This high visibility has an effect similar to the Panoptic (chapter 3 section 3.2.1); making individuals observable produces desired behaviours. This is illustrated by the deputy manager of the Airborne Initiative:



“Day one on the course, we [staff and young offenders] are both together, we’re very close with them and we’re very directive [holds hand together to indicate closeness]. You know ‘this is how you do this, this is the standard we want. That’s not good enough. That’s how it must be’ ... and then gradually we come right down the line to where we delegate and we’re right out here [moves hand apart to indicate separation]. ‘OK lads this is what’s required today. Got any problems come back and see me and if not I’ll see you at 11-30 and we’ll see how it’s going.’ And that’s it. So we pull away. And we can use that as some sort of sanction. That’s our biggest sanction really, our supervision. ‘Cause they’re not behaving themselves and they’re kicking up then we come back in close supervision.”

Observation is clearly a disciplinary tactic, used to observe behaviours, enable judgement of those behaviours in regard to the norm, and to penalise deviance.

Once again, however, supervision is sometimes explained in non-disciplinary terms. One quote - social worker B’s description of Airborne - illustrates the extent of supervision and its justification in terms of the welfare of participants, both in terms of preventing self-destructive behaviours and through its role in preventing young offenders from coming into conflict with each other:

“quite a number of people have been drug users so its obviously been very intensive supervision. It might feel a bit in your face and intrusive, I think there are searches made of people’s belongings and people’s mail and things like that. So it’s intensive ‘cause it has to be ... But the supervision is necessary because they have a lot of people coming from Edinburgh, Glasgow wherever and there could be clashes of personality, maybe clashes of lifestyle, someone from a more well off background than someone else you know. And there are fights that occur and there’s niggling carrying on and things don’t always run smoothly. I’ve seen this myself, several people have to be there on call at all times.”

Outdoor adventure ‘fits’ Foucault’s portrayal of disciplinary institutions by using observation as a disciplinary technique. However, because observation is also explained in non-disciplinary terms, once again the disciplinary thesis may not be able fully to account nor to explain the role of observation in outdoor adventure.

### 6.3.1.2 INTERNALISED OBSERVATION

The second type of observation which contributes to a disciplinary interpretation of outdoor adventure is internalised observation. Though hierarchical observation is clearly a valuable tool in outdoor adventure programmes, it is seen, as the deputy manager of Airborne's quote illustrated, as a temporary measure. The aim of providers is that observation will become internalised through time so that the youths observe, judge and enforce correct behaviour upon themselves:

"They have to develop those resources and be helped to develop them in the right atmosphere which is disciplined, not for the sake of discipline *but to lead to self-discipline*"

Director of Renaissance Maritime Trust, emphasis added.

Although initial involvement in outdoor adventure often has high supervision levels, these tend to be reduced through time, as youths learn to supervise their own activities and conduct. At Bryn Melyn, though the first six months have continual supervision:

"[A]fter they've been here probably a minimum of three to six weeks we might start to look at whether they could for example go down to the shops on their own, or less likely they would do anything so lengthy as go to the cinema on their own, but small chunks of time to kind of develop, beginning to develop them with a view to, when there're old enough and when they're heading for independence they need significant blocks of time on their own to start getting used to it."

Implicit in this is the idea that youths learn to supervise their own behaviour.

The internalisation of the observation of youths by themselves has two aims. First, it enables youths to watch, judge, correct and so control their own behaviours. This is seen in the space that providers give to youths to supervise their own chores, free time, expeditions and work. This means that, even without the threat of being 'found out' (the principle of the Panoptic), individuals exert self-discipline through the internal imposition of observation and normalising judgement.

The self observation and judgement of individuals extends beyond judgement of visible actions and behaviours. Youths are also encouraged to observe their

past, present and future actions and attitudes, to come to an understanding of their individual identity: in Foucauldian terminology this is an observation of the 'soul'. Foucault (1991b) recognised that normalising tactics do not just address particular actions (i.e. deviant acts), but observe and judge the whole individual. What are its abilities, desires, ambitions, its 'goodness' or 'badness'? The subject thus acquires a 'soul', a core of their being and identity which the disciplines attempt to know and to control. Outdoor adventure programs encourage youths to internalise discipline, not only by learning to observe and control their actions without external influence, but to observe, judge, and if necessary change the less visible 'selves' producing an internal observation of their 'souls'.

This suggests that disciplines utilise an essentialist philosophy as outdoor adventure is articulated as revelational, not creative. In the words of the Director of West Coast Adventure, outdoor adventure opens up opportunities for the 'true self' to be recognised and observed:

"if you go through a difficult time which involves having some endurance and some challenge, then *there is the possibility of learning about yourself*, and how other people perceive you. Which is very important to anybody. *The art of what am I?*"  
Emphasis added.

The observation of one's true self is widely recognised: Renaissance Maritime Trust, Bryn Melyn, the team leader at the Airborne Initiative and John from Corvedale Care all make reference to outdoor adventure's ability to reveal to participants their true selves, which have either lain latent because youths have not been encouraged to realise their true selves or been disguised as a form of protection of the self against the outside world. The observation of the self is argued to have a dual role: it is expositionary and disciplinary.

Observation is argued to reveal to youths their strengths and abilities:

"I think that's one of the main things that drives me is *letting that person see who they really are and what they're capable of. If you can encourage them to see who they are, what they're capable of* that person can pick up the pieces there and then and you can do something with him, and lay a solid foundation that someone else will pick something up"  
Team Leader, The Airborne Initiative, emphasis added.

The recognition of the person's positive points (abilities and innate 'goodness') is constructed by providers as a positive learning experience in which people's self perception improves. Outdoor adventure providers commonly refer to the problems of home environments which have resulted a warped self perception based on failure and/or rejection. Facing the self in outdoor adventure can replace negative perceptions by illustrating youth's qualities and capabilities.

In addition to this positive revelational role, outdoor adventure is also argued to invite self critique. Internal observation through outdoor adventure provides opportunities to face the 'bad' as well as the good:

"I think we only communicate through images. To parody the cocktail party at the opening of the arts festival where people hold their cigarettes like this and their glass of sherry and say 'how wonderful'. It's all images, golf club talk, things like that. And it's only when you shatter those images that people have to react from the guts. That they reveal themselves to be what they are with their fears, their hopes and everything else. But it's only when you begin to react like that the real person comes out and it begins to grow. And you face yourself don't you? Whether it's on a mountain or anything else any other way you face yourself, *and there are parts of it naturally we don't want to face*"

Director of The Renaissance Maritime Trust.

Facing oneself is intrinsically judgmental: it celebrates the positive, alongside realising and criticising the bad. So, on the one hand, by enabling people to recognise their abilities and, on the other hand, by encouraging people to realise their 'failings', outdoor adventure claims to provide opportunities for people to learn about themselves and to judge their actions and attitudes. In outdoor adventure youths are taught to observe their own actions, judge them in relation to social norms, and correct abnormalities. Moreover, outdoor adventure encourages observation, not simply in terms of criminal activity but in holistic terms of the entire person.

### **6.3.1.3 EXTERNAL AND LATERAL OBSERVATION**

Hierarchical observation and internalised observation illustrate the similarities between Foucault's vision of the operation of discipline and outdoor adventure

programmes, as do lateral and external observation.

Adults in communities where outdoor adventure occurs are often perceived to act in a supervisory capacity towards youths on programmes. Turnaround, the Airborne Initiative, West Coast Adventure and Corvedale Care all recognise that members of the local community supervise participants; for example:

“you often find the locals will phone up and say ‘one of you’re kids is walking down the road’”

Roger, Director of Turnaround.

The technique of lateral observation by peers is also widely recognised:

“If you put someone outdoors they learn about themselves through *how the rest of the group reacts to them in difficult circumstances*”

Director of West Coast Adventure, emphasis added.

Great emphasis is therefore placed on the judgement of participants by other participants, positioning each participant as both judge and judged.

Thus, the lateral and external observation Foucault identified in the Mettray institution, are also found in outdoor adventure.

The instruments of control that Foucault associated with the disciplines are evident in perceptions of outdoor adventure programmes by social workers and outdoor adventure providers. Because they embody disciplinary characteristics, outdoor adventure can be understood as a discipline: a leisure activity which disciplines participants and acts as a form of social control. There are strong parallels between Foucault’s conception of discipline and the perceptions of outdoor adventure. However, the practice of outdoor adventure appears to provide something over and above Foucauldian discipline - disciplinary tactics are interpreted as doing more than disciplining participants - they also benefit participants. This suggests that although outdoor adventure is disciplinary, it is not only disciplinary, and that the disciplinary thesis, as it stands, is insufficient to understand *all* of outdoor adventure’s processes and effects.

## 6.4 DISCIPLINARY OUTDOOR ADVENTURE?

There is extensive evidence that outdoor adventure programmes use the four disciplinary tactics and the two instruments of control that Foucault recognised in *Discipline and Punish*. Moreover, all interviewees acknowledge that the ultimate aim of these programmes is to discipline the young people in their care.

Practice team manager 3, speaking of all rehabilitative strategies used by social services, including outdoor activities, claimed:

“Its specifically about helping people stop offending.”

Outdoor adventure’s ability to achieve this aim is also recognised by social workers:

“we’re charged with helping reduce their offending and if this helps their offending then I’ve got no worries at all, and from what I’ve seen with my anecdotal evidence it can help. What I’ve read is it’s one of the most effective ways of working with young offenders”

Social Worker C.

And also by providers of outdoor adventure:

“prison doesn’t work. Simple as that. 79% of all people who come out of jail last year under 21 re-offended. 20% of the people who leave this course will probably re-offend”

The Deputy Manager of Airborne.

Outdoor adventure, then, is utilised to discipline young offenders into obeying laws. All of the outdoor adventure programmes share this claim to challenge and prevent (or at least reduce) youth offending. Because these are explicit attempts to correct ‘deviant’ people and to inculcate individuals into conformity with social norms, and because this is achieved through disciplinary tactics, outdoor adventure programmes can be considered as disciplinary in aim and process.

However, outdoor adventure providers and social workers readily attribute outcomes other than obedience to outdoor adventure programmes. Some have been recognised above, but many benefits are claimed, including increasing



self-confidence and self-esteem, improving communication skills, improving health, educating youths, providing new experiences for young offenders, learning practical skills, developing relationships, encouraging pride, providing opportunities for rest and recuperation, developing teamwork, improving relations between social workers and clients, and providing enjoyment. These 'extra-disciplinary' outcomes of outdoor adventure suggest that outdoor adventure is perceived as having multiple aims. Participants are not simply normalised but are perceived to benefit in terms of their health, self perceptions, affective states and their practical and social skills.

Outdoor adventure courses thus appear to have disciplinary aims which benefit society *and* aims that directly benefit the participants. Throughout this analysis, a duality of interpretations of outdoor adventure programmes has been seen; some outcomes are envisaged as disciplinary, others as beneficial to participants. This is not unexpected; as was argued in the introduction leisure is characterised by experiences of freedom and autonomy; although it may be disciplinary, a *leisure* activity is unlikely to be experienced as totally constraining. However, this extra-disciplinary discourse is now examined in detail to analyse its implications for a social control interpretation of outdoor adventure and leisure.

## **6.5 EXTRA-DISCIPLINARY QUALITIES OF OUTDOOR ADVENTURE**

There has been a persistent sub-theme throughout this analysis which has explained many tactics, which can be interpreted as disciplinary, in non-disciplinary ways, and which posit non-disciplinary outcomes to outdoor adventure. These extra-disciplinary functions do not necessarily detract from outdoor adventure's disciplinary effects, but do point to the fact that outdoor adventure is perceived as *more than* disciplinary. Several possible explanations can be suggested to explain the welfare and empowerment discourses that permeate discussions of outdoor adventure by providers and social workers.

- First, these discourses can be an attempt to attract young offenders into disciplinary institutions. All these programmes are voluntary, and several social workers and outdoor providers point to the use of enjoyment to attract participants (although enjoyment is also recognised to be of intrinsic value):

“They are going on the course for a long time, they have to be some incentives in order to say you’re going away and you have to stay away.....so we try and make it sound enjoyable. But there will be some fun. It’s not just all getting up at half past six in the morning, doing some chores and sitting in a classroom. They don’t want that. If it sounds too much like school days they wouldn’t want to go”

Social Worker B.

The emphasis upon personal benefits for participant individuals could be a similar means of attracting young offenders and those at risk to participate in a disciplinary mechanism. Claimed benefits, such as empowerment, may be a ‘bribe’ to induce participation in an activity aimed primarily at disciplining youths.

- Second, amongst outdoor adventure providers there is a widespread attempt to dissociate their provision from punitive sentences such as prisons. The prison is extensively criticised by social workers and outdoor adventure providers because it does nothing for young offenders but isolate them from society. Prisons are claimed to have no positive impacts on behaviours and may even exert negative influences: further alienating youths from society and encouraging them into more, and more serious, criminality. This discourse is widespread within literature (NACRO 1990) as well as in the interview responses. If descriptions of outdoor adventure were purely disciplinary, this could associate outdoor adventure with prisons, a widely criticised form of intervention. Emphasising the positive outcomes of outdoor adventure alongside its disciplinary role therefore dissociates it from a sentence which is very unpopular among social workers because of its punitive aspect and perceived inefficiency. For example, practice team manager 9 described prison negatively and contrasted it with outdoor adventure:

“... just putting them somewhere and meals three times a day isn’t going to do [anything]. There has to be positive intervention *and I see outdoor adventure as part of that*”  
(emphasis added).

Outdoor adventure providers and social workers possibly find that emphasising benefits to the individual is one way to demarcate the difference between these two disciplinary 'institutions'.

- Third, the emphasis on the welfare of clients could be a mis-interpretation of an essentially disciplinary activity. In *Discipline and Punish* (1991b:104-131) Foucault argued that prisons were initially mistaken as a humanitarian reform, 'The Gentle Way in Punishment' (in the move from punishments based on torture to imprisonment), failing to recognise its extensive disciplinary implications. Focussing on how outdoor adventure benefits young offenders may be a similar misinterpretation of its disciplinary role.
- Fourth, and connected with point three, the emphasis upon the welfare of participants may not be a mistake, but a deliberate strategy that disguises the operation of power. Foucault argued that power works best when it is hidden because there is seen to be nothing to resist (1991b: 218). Young offenders may resist being disciplined, but if they are subjected to activities apparently aimed at improving their welfare, and benefiting them in terms of enjoyment, self-esteem, self-confidence, empowerment, opportunities in life, and the like, resistance is forestalled.
- Fifth; it is possible that outdoor adventure genuinely has two roles and that it disciplines the individual *and* benefits the individual.

The first four of these scenarios have disciplinary implications which reinforce the idea that outdoor adventure is disciplinary in the way envisaged by *Discipline and Punish*. Scenario one suggests that emphasising the positive effects of outdoor adventure maximises the numbers of individuals exposed to disciplinary strategies. Scenario two, the attempted dissociation of outdoor adventure from prisons and punitive sentences, implies maximisation of outdoor adventure's acceptability, because, by differentiating outdoor adventure from criticised punitive measures, it offers a much more palatable form of control for those against punitive measures, and for young offenders

themselves. By making discipline acceptable, disciplinary strategies may gain public support and potentially increased utilisation. Scenario three and four suggest that, by disguising outdoor adventure as non-disciplinary (either accidentally or intentionally), possible resistance to discipline will be minimised, again maximising discipline's effects. All of these scenarios therefore emphasise outdoor adventure's status as a disciplinary mechanism.

Scenario five, however, suggests something different. Individuals are not simply 'disciplined' or normalised. It is not simply that society 'wins' by the elimination of deviance; the individual normalised also experiences positive outcomes. Though Foucault consistently argued that discipline is productive not repressive, the central thesis of *Discipline and Punish* was about enforcing conformity to social norms - i.e. it *produced* docile and productive subjects. Though it could be argued that each of the benefits received by participants is a form of 'normalisation' produced through discipline (they arrive at programmes with low self-esteem and leave with more 'normal' levels of self-esteem, they arrive un-empowered and leave empowered and so on), the emphasis in interviews on welfare *and* discipline, rather than on welfare *through* discipline, suggests that benefits are perceived by providers and social workers as something occurring in addition to, rather than being another instance of, discipline. Foucault's analysis of discipline was in fact made to heighten awareness of dominating institutions which prevented individual choices and empowerment, enabling resistance. Consequently, if *Discipline and Punish* and its disciplinary mechanisms explained outdoor adventure in its entirety, affirmations of its empowering effects would be absent. The discourses of positive benefits and empowerment are therefore an anomaly in any interpretation based solely on *Discipline and Punish*, the emphasis upon empowerment particularly so because discipline implies subjectification whilst empowerment suggests the opposite. It can therefore be argued that, though outdoor adventure does utilise the tactics and strategies found in *Discipline and Punish*, there is something occurring in outdoor adventure that *Discipline and Punish* cannot fully encapsulate. There is an emphasis on empowerment and benefits to the individual which do not sit comfortably with an analysis based solely on *Discipline and Punish*.

This recognition of the limits of control theories is a repetition of the leisure debate in microcosm. Some leisure theorists argue that leisure is a function of structural social control (i.e. discipline that proceeds through tactics and strategies imposed upon individuals), but this philosophy was criticised because it failed to pay adequate attention to the feelings of freedom and individuality that leisure participants experienced, that is, it ignores agency and overemphasises structure (chapter 2, section 2.4). Studying outdoor adventure solely through *Discipline and Punish* appears to do the same thing: it emphasises the techniques, strategies, and tactics of disciplines within outdoor adventure, but fails to acknowledge the feelings, effects and outcomes for and upon individuals. This chapter has shown that outdoor adventure is disciplinary (hence a source of control), but that this is not a sufficient way to understand the benefits derived, which do not have obvious disciplinary implications. Both the theoretical leisure debate and this empirical study therefore point to the need to understand that yes, outdoor adventure, and leisure, are disciplinary, but that they have qualities which are not able to be explained by the vision of discipline in *Discipline and Punish*.

This does not mean that the perceptions of individual benefits and empowerment can only be understood through a non-disciplinary philosophy, merely that the disciplinary thesis in *Discipline and Punish* is insufficient. Foucault, however, furthered his social control thesis in his later work on personal ethics (chapter 3 section 3.3). In ethics, Foucault argues that the governance of individuals proceeds not simply through structures, but also through agency. In ethics the individual is made responsible to care for themselves - in contrast to having discipline structurally imposed, they (seemingly) elect to develop themselves, they (perceive themselves as) choosing to develop what they deem to be most beneficial to themselves, and they (appear to) work on themselves. Because of the semblance of making one's own choices and working on oneself within ethics, individuals can experience feelings of autonomy and empowerment. However, this process can, as has been argued in chapter 3, be a form of regulation.

Foucault's ethics may then provide an explanation for the perceived benefits and empowerment that posit an anomaly for the thesis in *Discipline and Punish*, and the next chapter goes on to look at whether empowerment is something in addition to discipline or if it can be seen as another disciplinary strategy. Empowerment has been chosen because it is a frequently claimed benefit of outdoor adventure, one that as has been pointed out above, causes the greatest problems for a disciplinary interpretation because empowerment and discipline appear opposed. If empowerment can be seen as serving regulatory functions, all of the five scenarios posited above will contribute to the idea that outdoor adventure is indeed a site of social control.



# CHAPTER 7: Governing Outdoor Adventure

## 7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 6 argues that outdoor adventure activities can be interpreted as an example of Foucauldian discipline as propounded in *Discipline and Punish*. However *Discipline and Punish* is unable *fully to* account for all perceived effects of outdoor adventure because providers and social workers resist an overly disciplinary interpretation of their provision. They believe that the effects of outdoor adventure extend beyond pure discipline, providing positive experiences of empowerment for young offenders, and contributing to their health and welfare. Two further problems of an interpretation based purely in *Discipline and Punish* were raised in chapter 3, one philosophical, the other practical. Philosophically, the approach used so far runs the risk of a structural ontology. Although *Discipline and Punish* does not completely negate agency, it does prioritise structure - as the last chapter argued, disciplinary influences emanated from structural tactics and strategies which encouraged individuals to be both productive and docile. Whilst this is very useful to show how discipline proceeds in an outdoor adventure programme, without looking at how these are experienced by individuals, accepted, resisted or re-articulated, a structurally based analysis risks neglecting agency, and, in consequence failing to account for feelings of freedom and autonomy experienced in leisure. Outdoor adventure, therefore, also needs to be examined in a way which looks at the role of agency alongside the influence of disciplinary structures. Practically, disciplinary tactics and strategies are necessarily limited both temporally and spatially to the institutions in which they operate. Through the internalisation of discipline, these effects are argued to be long lasting; however, when a person leaves a disciplinary institution he or she is removed from the (direct) disciplinary influence. Though discipline may be effective in situ, and despite the claimed internalisation, it appears that disciplinary tactics and strategies frequently fail to be sufficiently internalised within individuals to deter them from participating in criminal activities outside of institutional walls.

This may be illustrated through the high recidivism rates among ex prisoners (NACRO 1990, Veile 1991, Garrido and Redono 1993). In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault himself recognised the consistent failure of prisons to reduce criminality among its ex-inmates. For an effective long term effect, then, disciplinary influences need to operate outside of institutions, and *Discipline and Punish* does not adequately address how this is achieved. Examining outdoor adventure programmes purely through institutional structures may therefore fail to acknowledge their longer term effects.

Foucault's work on governmentality provides one way to work around these limits of an interpretation based solely on *Discipline and Punish*, because of two important elements: its recognition of the role of agency, and its recognition of the general (rather than institutional) sites of disciplinary effects (see chapter 3 section 3.3.1). In governmentality, Foucault recognised that individuals regulated themselves through their own actions. This indicates that self-discipline and feelings of empowerment are not incompatible and may co-exist. It also recognises that agents are active in their regulation rather than passive recipients of, and respondents to, structural forces. This counters potential criticisms of an overly structural interpretation. Second, governance proceeds through general society rather than being confined to institutional settings. Because of its social nature, this provides opportunities to investigate how individual regulation may extend beyond institution walls.

As chapter 3 discussed, Foucault has a threefold conception of the subject: it is determined by discourses of truth and social norms (scientific and/or religious influence), by rules and regulations (judicio-legal influence) and by ethics, the individual's relationship to themselves (Foucault 1991c). Through the latter, he saw the possibility of human subjects creating their own subjectivities and recognised individuals' capacities to exert power over themselves. Rather than individuals being constructed through subjectifying power relations, ethics was proclaimed as a recognition of individuals' abilities to create themselves out-with legal and juridical influences (Patton 1998).

Ethics<sup>9</sup> therefore differs from discipline because it recognises subject agency and can produce feeling of autonomy and empowerment; it is individually rather than structurally determined. This appears to be in stark contrast to the disciplines which control individual subjectivities by externally imposing labels and characteristics produced from ideas of social truths (i.e. deviance), subjecting individuals to externally imposed structural influences to which subjects comply (the disciplinary tactics), resulting in the subject's adoption of characteristics which have been decided by others (i.e. the production of docile and productive subjects). In *Discipline and Punish*, subjects are acted upon in ways over which they have little control whilst ethical work involves subjects acting upon themselves in ways of their own choosing, free from enforced external impositions.

However, as argued in chapter 3, governmentality re-interprets ethics as a form of regulation and social control. Through subjects may appear to work on themselves, deciding, with apparently minimal external intervention, who they want to be and how they want to become them, this ethical work is not 'free'. Choices are instead made in response to expert discourses which circulate society suggesting desirable attributes and the methods to follow to achieve these aims. Consequently, ethics is socially determined. Moreover, I have suggested governmentality is also disciplinary - although ethical practices may not be enforced through legal or scientific imperatives, they are influenced through social approval or social condemnation. Governmentality therefore involves individuals choosing to (and how to) regulate themselves, producing feelings of empowerment, but these choices are observed, judged and rewarded or penalised - depending on their compliance with naturalised social truths.

Governmentality regulates by inciting individuals to choose to adopt particular characteristics which are socially valued. Dean (1995) argued that governance of the employed produced active job seekers, rather than 'unemployed'; Miller and Rose (1990), looking at governance of the financial sector noted how individuals become constructed as enterprising; and Nettleton (1997)

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<sup>9</sup> A note about terminology in this chapter; *ethics* refers the self working on the self, *governmentality* refers to the use of ethics as a means of social control.

recognised how individuals have become actively involved in caring for their own health. Throughout the governance literature, then, there is an emphasis on empowering individuals to care for themselves, in work, finance, health, and much more. But caring for the self is simultaneously an exercise in (self)regulation, which contributes to social control. Active job-seekers search for work and develop skills to make them more employable, and who contribute to the employment sector (and keep idle hands occupied). Actively healthy citizens reduce demands on the health service; enterprising individuals contribute to the fiscal wealth of a country; insurance (pensions and risk) reduces the burden of old age, accidents and crime upon society. And all of this regulation is achieved, in a liberal fashion, via the (apparently) chosen actions of (seemingly) autonomous subjects.

In this chapter, it will be argued that through outdoor adventure programmes, youths are similarly empowered to 'care for themselves' in a rehabilitative context. Outdoor adventure programmes are argued to be a source of expert discourses which suggest how individual can care for themselves (and empower those individuals) in ways that also reflect social aims (and so regulate behaviours). It is also argued that they involve disciplinary practices.

To investigate the issues raised in this discussion, the rest of this chapter analyses ethical work in outdoor adventure situations, and analyses its effects on both subjects' feelings of empowerment and practices of subject regulation and discipline. Section 2 investigates whether outdoor adventure programmes do indeed incite participants into ethical practices (i.e. do ethical practices operate alongside the already identified disciplinary tactics?). This will be addressed through a fourfold approach which follows Foucault's own. Foucault divided ethics into four components: the ethical substance, the *mode d'assujettissement*, the practice of ethical work, and the telos. Each of these is examined to investigate whether such ethical practices can be found in outdoor adventure, and, if so, what form do they take. It also examines the effect of these practices upon participants' feelings of empowerment. Section 3 examines the regulatory effects of this ethical work, and investigates its potential to operate outside of institution walls, while section 4 goes on to

address the role (or absence) of discipline within ethics. Section 5 looks at the relationship between the apparently contradicting ideas of discipline (with its connotations of structurally imposed, deterministic effects) and governmentality (regulation through empowered subjects), which emphasises the importance of active agents. Finally, section 6 examines the possibilities for resistance within outdoor adventure.

## **7.2. ETHICAL WORK**

To investigate whether outdoor adventure participants ‘care for themselves’ in outdoor adventure, the four components of ethical work are now addressed. First, the ethical substance of outdoor adventure will be investigated; it is suggested that this substance is the elimination of their criminality and those characteristics which make young offenders ‘at risk’ from criminality. Second, the *mode d’assujettissement* - the way in which youths come to perceive criminality as a problem - is examined, and a specific *mode d’assujettissement* - responsibility - is proposed. Third, the ascetic activity - how youths address the ethical substance through working on themselves - is analysed. Last, the telos (or ultimate aim) which underlies all this work - suggested as the desire to be an empowered citizen - is investigated.

### **7.2.1. THE ETHICAL SUBSTANCE: CRIMINALITY AND ITS PREDICTORS**

Youths appear to participate in rehabilitative outdoor adventure courses to prevent either their initial involvement in crime, or their recidivism. It can therefore be assumed that the ethical substance that is addressed through outdoor adventure programmes (the characteristics of an individual to be worked on through ethics) is their offending behaviour. As was discussed in chapter 6 section 6.4, this is widely recognised as an aim and outcome of outdoor adventure programmes. Moreover, providers and social workers do

not merely say that this is what *they* hope will result from their clients' participation, they also claim that it is the aim of *participants*:

"I think as a general rule people want to change ... They don't want to spend the next few years of their life in jail. They don't want to be like that person"

Airborne Initiative Team Leader.

Ethical actors therefore seem to choose to attempt to reduce their criminal behaviours.

However, addressing actual offending is only one part of the ethical substance because these programmes work on much more than criminal acts. Interviews suggest that outdoor adventure programmes result in a very wide range of outcomes, above and beyond rehabilitation; for example, developing participants' self-confidence and self-esteem, improving communication skills, improving health, educating youths, providing new experiences, learning practical skills, developing relationships, encouraging pride, providing opportunities for rest and recuperation, developing teamwork, improving relations between social workers and clients, and providing enjoyment.

Although these seem very varied, many share a common denominator. Some of these factors (or rather, the lack of them) are thought to predispose individuals to crime. A worker at Fairbridge, for example, claimed that many of these positive outcomes - communication and relations with others, development of self-confidence, educating youths - although not obviously regulatory, are sought because they directly influence young people's criminal behaviour:

"If you address the issues that are going on in their lives which is a lot to do with social interaction, how they fit into whatever culture they're part of at that time, if you equip them with more skills to go back into that culture, to be able to relate with people in a more positive way, to feel more empowered within themselves, to feel more motivated and to feel more self-confidence, then one theory would be that they would then wouldn't re-offend because they feel they've got other options in life to follow as opposed to having no options therefore they offend."

The Director of Care Afloat noted the link between low self-esteem and crime:



“ [T]he other thing we look at is the self-esteem and point out to them that, as far as we’re concerned, they are important. Because most of these young people come to us, they don’t think that they are important. They actually don’t think that what happens to them is important enough to warrant them to need to change. Because if they end up being locked up it’s only this unimportant young person that’s getting locked up as opposed to a potential source of social change in this country, or someone that can achieve, individually and socially.”

Outdoor adventure, then, does not simply address criminal offences, it also addresses the predictors of those offences - those factors which make an individual ‘at risk’ from criminality. Although some predictors of criminality are external to the individual and therefore difficult to address through outdoor adventure - a Home Office report, for example, recognised that gender, socio-economic class, family size, structure, parental and sibling criminality, and supervision all correlated with young people’s crime (Graham and Bowling 1995) - others are internal to the individual and can therefore be addressed by youths working on themselves. For example two of the strongest predictors of crime found in the Home Office study were contact with delinquent peers and truancy from school, both of which are able to be addressed by young people changing their own attitude and actions (Graham and Bowling 1995).

Interview data illustrates how outdoor adventure programmes identify these internal predictors of crime and incite youths to address them. Two correlates are particularly well represented, and show clearly how outdoor adventure aims to alter the internal attitudes of individuals with the aim of reducing offending behaviours. These are developing feelings of attachment, and increasing a person’s feelings of self-confidence.

Considering first the lack of attachment and consequent problematic relationships. These are cited as a cause of crime in the literature (Graham and Bowling 1995), and are also recognised in interviews. Answering a question about the possible causes of youths’ problems, Bryn Melyn’s director claimed:

“[F]or the vast majority it’s disrupted family life for whatever reason. I’d say 70% to 80% of them [clients of Bryn Melyn] have been effectively in some form of abuse ... so usually it’s about disruption in their trust and attachment that makes them alienated in the community.”

Because lack of attachment is related to crime, many outdoor adventure organisations attempt to resolve this problem by developing meaningful relationships with their clients to develop their ability to trust others. This is done in many different ways. Relationships are developed through activities in which they are forced to depend upon another person. As Chris at Corvedale Care claimed:

“within the outdoor field trust is easily established because if they’re on the end of the rope they want that person to know what they are doing. I think that’s the simple tenet, to establish trust.”

To achieve the same effects (trust through dependency) through different means, some organisations place clients in unfamiliar environments. Bryn Melyn uses foreign locations which force youths to rely on and to trust their guides because they are unable to cope alone in countries with different languages and cultures. Other organisations, for example Turnaround and West Coast Adventure, rely on wilderness settings. These render known patterns of coping useless and encourage youths to depend on others who can teach them how to survive in such unfamiliar environments. A fourth way to encourage trust is through team activities. The Sail Training Association uses this to show individuals that they must trust and rely on others to sail a tall ship; without trust and co-operation this would be impossible. A final way of encouraging attachment is through providing stable, long term support which illustrates to youths that people can be relied upon and trusted for support and help when it is needed (this is a stated aim of Fairbridge, Venture Trust, The Airborne Initiative, Care Afloat and Venture Scotland).

Outdoor adventure programmes appear very effective at developing relationships, and often the relationships developed continue long after the programme has ended. This is especially well illustrated by the manager of Care Afloat. He claims to have developed an almost surrogate father relationship with some of his clients. One client wanted to be adopted, whilst another

insisted that, before she married, the manager met and approved of her fiancée. The lack of trust is one identified predictor of crime, and it is tackled, apparently very effectively, through outdoor adventure programmes.

Second, consistent failures in many areas of life (interviews refer to failures in family, relationships, school and work) are argued to reduce individuals' confidence and lead them into crime, for two reasons, First, through anger and frustration:

“[W]e've got another young person from Liverpool. His school attendance was appalling. It wasn't because he wasn't bright but his level of educational progress was really, really poor. His self-esteem was very, very low and the end result of all that was offending. He was into solvent abuse, using alcohol, and he was physically violent to other kids, all those sorts of things”  
Director of Bryn Melyn.

Second, because youths feel that they are unable to achieve what they want 'legally' (money, esteem from others, and feelings of success, for example, they turn to criminality to meet these needs. A team manager at the Airborne Initiative commented that participants on this programme want to have a normal life, but do not believe that they are able to achieve this through legitimate means:

“[T]hey could be the people that they see that drive around and have a house and have children because that what they all want. They want the things that everybody wants *they just don't think it will ever happen to them*”  
Emphasis added.

He argues that as a result youths turn to crime to fulfil their desires:

“Why do they go on offending? Succeeding at something. I mean a lot of young offenders, they feel good because it's something they can do. They can't achieve in school and they can't get a job. A lot of them may get caught and charged for offences but they've done a huge amount of things. I think perhaps that is something they feel quite good about, you know deep down.....It gives them access to a way of life it gives them money ....so they can have thing like clothes, they can go places”.

Outdoor adventure therefore addresses people's self-confidence by providing experiences of success. This is done by framing activities in such a way that individuals successfully climb, abseil, plan and go on expeditions, and so on. This success is valued in its own right, but in the light of propensity for low

self-confidence to lead to crime, success, leading to increased self-confidence, is hoped to show young offenders that they can 'achieve' in legal activities, reducing the perceived need for criminality. This is exceptionally well captured by social worker C who argued that, by experiencing success in outdoor adventure a youth's confidence increases and, as a result, their offending falls:

"Initially when we work with young people it's 'No, I can't change, there's nothing else to do and I'm no good at anything else'. And if they go and hang from ropes, or walk long distances, or climb mountains, that's something they can do, and that's just the start, the bottom rung of the ladder really. If they can do that they can do other things. And then it just builds up their confidence over time ... [They become] more confident with me in our interactions, but also being able to speak to other people, if they're dealing with housing, DSS, benefits, things like that. Actually dealing with them instead of asking us. Certainly they're more confident in saying no to criminal situations. If they're getting into trouble with friends, and a friend says 'Come on we'll rob a car' or something, then they're a bit more confident in saying no. They're probably the main ways [outdoor adventure helps]. Just to speak up for themselves when it comes down to it, and be confident that they can actually do something rather than lie in bed all day. Which a lot of them have done. When they're out in the outdoors it's filling the full day up. They're confident they can get through a full day without having to score whatever they're taking at the time, so there's that side too which is good for their confidence. To show them that there are other ways of filling your day, other than drink, drugs or offending."

Outdoor adventure, then, targets low self-confidence, a predictor of criminality, to reduce youth's offending levels by showing youths that they are able to achieve in 'legal' activities, and by giving them the confidence to withstand peer pressure.

Outdoor adventure addresses criminality and its predictors. This ethical substance, goes some way to understanding providers' and social workers' claims that outdoor adventure is more than disciplinary (in the sense of *Discipline and Punish*) because it provides positive experiences in many areas of participants' lives rather than simply addressing criminal acts. Through the recognition that many of these positive outcomes - self-confidence, self-esteem, and so on - are in fact related to the reduction of criminality, some of

the apparently extra-disciplinary qualities that outdoor adventure addresses can be seen not as outside of criminality, but as factors of criminality. However, not all of the positive benefits identified by providers and social workers can be understood as predictors of crime; enjoyment and health, for example, are not directly associated with criminal behaviours and cannot be explained in this way. These will be looked at more closely in Section 7.3.

### **7.2.2 THE *MODE D'ASSUJETTISSEMENT*: RESPONSIBILITY**

The *mode d'assujettissement* is the way in which people are incited to realise their moral obligations to work on the ethical substance - in this instance criminality and its predictors. Within outdoor adventure, work on criminality is motivated through the discourse of responsibility; an idea which outdoor adventure is thought very able to capture. (This also echoes media and brochures' emphasis on responsibility (chapter 5 section 5.3.1.4).):

“To be responsible for your own actions and for others around you, to take care of other people. I think that's a central part of these activities [outdoor adventure]”

Practice Team Director 9.

In this context responsibility has three elements. It means acknowledging that a person has control over their own actions (in some literature it is referred to as the locus of control: see Hattie et al 1997), it means accepting the repercussions of actions upon oneself and others, and it means attempting to act in ways which avoid harming oneself or others. These three elements of responsibility are argued by outdoor adventure providers and social workers to problematise youth's offending behaviour. This is clearly recognised in the quote below which compares the (ineffective) effects of simple punishment with making offenders aware of their responsibility:

“They've probably assaulted staff in plenty of other places, and there's been a set response of 'well that's it, you're not having the TV tonight and we'll call your social worker and have a meeting.' *But we push them to take that responsibility* and all the follow up work after whatever action they've taken will concentrate on 'oh no, you can't blame us now, that is a sanction. You can't blame us because you were aware from the beginning that the action would bear this sanction. *You have responsibly for that*'” Peter, worker at Bryn Melyn, emphasis added.

Through emphasising that youths *choose* to commit crimes, and, consequently, that only youths can be blamed for the act and its negative outcomes, criminal actions become problematised, and youths are encouraged to resist future offences. Outdoor adventure therefore persuades individuals to see themselves as the authors of their own actions and experiences. To prevent bad experiences, individuals must learn to control their own behaviour. This discourse is very pervasive amongst outdoor adventure providers and social workers, and one worker even claimed of responsibility, “it’s a whole ethos of how we work” (Chris, worker at Corvedale Care).

Outdoor adventure programmes do not just make individuals responsible for their *own* actions and emotions, but also point toward their effects on other people’s experiences. This is also argued to persuade people to stop offending:

“If they, the young people, feel more respect for themselves, if *their locus of control* shifts and they start to see that they are in charge of their lives and they *can actually effect not only their own lives but the lives of other people in a positive way or a negative way*, know that their views and opinions are valid then they are less likely to offend”

Venture Trust Director, emphasis added.

The responsibility of individuals is thought to problematise offending behaviours because it shows youths that they are directly responsible for others’ suffering as well as their own, and that they have the ability to choose either to continue harming themselves and others or to change their behaviours.

However, outdoor adventure does not limit the emphasis of responsibility to criminal actions; youths are encouraged to accept responsibility in all areas of their lives. For example:

- they are encouraged to seek the help that they want or need themselves, rather than depend on others:

“It’s not a process of giving them information. It’s a process of actually giving them the will to go and say hello, and give them the courage to do it”

Venture Scotland Worker.

- they are taught responsibility for their own health and welfare:



“you know encouraging them to take some responsibility as well for their own wellbeing when you can in simple things. You know quickly drying your clothing off, before it rains put on your waterproofs before you’re wet through”

John, worker at Corvedale Care.

In general, outdoor adventure encourages people to be responsible in making decisions and choices in all aspects of their lives, choosing the options that are best for themselves and for others:

“There is a big emphasis on our models of working ... in the ways the programmes are developed in a step by step approach for young people to take increasing responsibility for their own lives and to recognise the consequences of their actions, and to make positive choices rather than negative choices”

Bryn Melyn Director.

Youths are therefore encouraged to accept responsibility for, and to learn responsible attitudes towards, all of the decisions that they make within their lives. This means that predictors of criminality, as well as criminality itself, are also problematised via an awareness of individual responsibility. The choice to truant from school, the choice of peer group, failing at school and work - in general the failure to make the ‘right’ decisions - can be attributed to a failure to act responsibly. Responsibility then incites individuals to problematise their criminality and its predictors, but governmentality through outdoor adventure results in much more than criminal behaviours being regulated; the entire arena of ‘responsible’ life is influenced.

### **7.2.3. ASCETICISM: THE SELF-FORMING ACTIVITY**

Foucault’s ethics involves individuals developing themselves rather than having actions and responses imposed upon them from external people, structures or institutions. Outdoor adventure providers and social workers similarly claim that self-development results from actions that youths effect upon themselves - the participant is the source of, medium for, as well as the outcome of, change. This section does not examine asceticism through the specifics of outdoor adventure activities, because, as chapter 4 illustrated, these vary greatly between programmes. Instead, it is examined by

investigating how people develop themselves through their (self) observation, assessment and development.

Outdoor adventure situates itself as a provision which is sought by individuals who have examined and assessed their lives and found them, in some capacity, wanting. Unlike disciplines, it is not directly imposed because of external judgements of deviance, but, it is argued, is chosen through the internal judgements of participants. Most outdoor providers claim that young offenders participate in outdoor adventure programmes looking to resolve problems that they feel are hindering their lives. It is not enforced normalisation of recognised deviance, decided and imposed externally, but an internal recognised requirement for, and decision to, change. As a worker at Fairbridge claimed:

“[T]he young people we work with, they’re choosing to want to change. We’re not telling them, they’re choosing to change something about their lives”.

In an extension of the apparent principle of self-assessment, once on outdoor programmes, individuals frequently choose where to direct their learning and development, and how this should proceed. On Fairbridge programmes, individuals draw up their own personal development plans through which they choose what to focus upon and Youth at Risk participants select three goals they wish to have achieved by the end of the programme. Outdoor adventure programmes therefore give youths an opportunity to focus on their parts of life they judge as most problematic, and that they feel it would be most useful for them to address. A brief quote from Venture Scotland illustrates the belief that the actual decision to change, and decision of what aspects of the selves to change, is sourced within the individual:

“I think that the individual makes the decisions all the way through”.

On outdoor adventure programmes, then, development appears internally instigated, and internally directed to particular aims which participants decide are the most important for them to address.

In addition to choosing to change, and choosing what to change, participants also perform the actions upon themselves that bring about change. This is

well captured by the manager of Care Afloat, who, considering a question about why it was important for young offenders to achieve things, answered:

“[W]ell that would obviously enable young offenders to look at their lives and change it. *Now the only person that can change it is the young person, not us.* So we have to give them enough confidence in their own ability to achieve anything and everything, so that they can move on and say ‘*I can now go and change my behaviour patterns, my offending patterns and my relationships*’. *It’s basically down to the young person*” emphasis added.

Young offenders are therefore portrayed as not passively responding to external conditions (such as the external observation and judgement characteristic of overt discipline), but as actively altering their attitudes and behaviours as a consequence of their own judgements.

This analysis has shown how individuals are apparently given the responsibility of discovering what they feel of is value to them, and of attaining whatever it is that is of value through their own endeavours.

Outdoor adventure, although composed of many different activities - canoeing, hill walking, expeditions, survival courses, solos and so on - always stresses the importance of the self-forming activity; the participant chooses to act, chooses what to address, and acts on themselves, in order to develop themselves.

#### **7.2.4. TELOS: AN EMPOWERED SUBJECT**

The telos is ‘the kind of being we aspire to when we behave in a moral way’ (Foucault 1991d: 355). From the interview data in this analysis (of people who are involved in the provision of outdoor adventure, it is not possible to identify what those who are practising ethics aspire to be. However, what emerges from interviews is the image of the kind of person that outdoor adventure providers and social workers would like to see produced from outdoor adventure. Broadly speaking, that person can be termed ‘empowered’. As a key worker at Airborne Initiative succinctly claimed:

“outdoor activity is really an excuse, a vehicle for empowering the individual.”

The ethical work done through outdoor adventure ‘empowers’ in two ways which are directly related to the *mode d’assujettissement* and the ascetic work. Through the realisation of one’s responsibility (and so control over life), and through choosing to, and changing oneself through ethical activity, individuals aim towards, and can envisage themselves as, ‘empowered’.

Responsibility - recognising that one has control over one’s actions - is double edged. As has been recognised, it carries the obligation to behave ‘responsibly’, and it problematises criminality and those attitudes and actions that correlate with criminality. However, developing feelings of responsibility is also argued to empower individuals:

“[R]esponsibility is a choice which empowers you in your life”  
Director of The Renaissance Maritime Trust.

Realising that a person has control over their life is empowering, because people realise that they can make their own choices and direct their own lives. Although an individual may not be able to control their environs (for example, those external correlates of criminality), youths are able to control their internal beliefs, actions and attitudes. Responsibility, then, replaces passive individuals with active agents able to influence and to direct their lives.

The work on the self (asceticism) is also empowering. By encouraging youths to instigate and to enact changes in their lives, outdoor adventures aims to produce, not only law abiding, but *empowered* subjects. The ‘ethical’ youth appears far different from the passive recipient of disciplinary structural forces: he/she seeks, instigates, organises and changes themselves. The process of change and the regulation of behaviours therefore also appear to become a process of the empowerment of youths. Empowerment is hence the ultimate aim, or the telos, of outdoor adventure’s ethics.

### 7.2.5 SUMMARY OF OUTDOOR ADVENTURE PARTICIPANTS' ETHICAL PRACTICES

The fourfold definition of Foucault's ethics is a useful way to interpret how individuals are incited to work on themselves through outdoor adventure. Outdoor adventure clearly encourages individuals to adopt ethical practices with a particular ethical substance, *mode d'assujettissement*, and telos, to develop themselves in ways that reduce criminality. But these programmes appear to do far more than address youths' offending behaviours. Because individuals *choose to* act on themselves, *choose how* to act on themselves, and *act* upon themselves, individuals become empowered through the realisation and through the practice of their own responsibility for, and ability to, alter facets of their existence that they, and others, find problematic.

However, as theories of governmentality indicate, the empowered individual is also the essential basis of a society governed via self-regulating individuals (chapter 3 section 3.3.3). Therefore, although there is strong evidence that outdoor adventure creates empowered individuals, are these also regulated individuals?

### 7.3. ETHICS AND GOVERNMENTALITY

The empowered subject of outdoor adventure ethics *can* be seen as a governed or regulated subject because, although the subject is responsible for performing the ethical activity themselves, the ethical substance - criminality and its predictors - are not freely chosen but are socially problematised. Theories of governmentality argue that individuals choose to care for themselves through expert discourses which influence decision-making, and which thereby regulate society by positing the desired aims of government in terms which induce ethical subjects to work towards those ends. Within outdoor adventure programmes, an individual's ethical choices are governed through the three discourses which have informed the ethical process: the problem of criminality and the twin discourses of responsibility and empowerment.

Looking first at the problem of criminality, outdoor adventure participants do not freely choose the ethical substance upon which they work. As was illustrated in section 7.2.1, outdoor providers deliberately orchestrate their provision to work on particular aspects of criminality and those predictors that make individuals 'at risk' from crime. For example, programmes deliberately manufacture situations with the aim of developing clients' attachment and self-confidence. To a certain extent, then, programmes choose the ethical substance which youths then proceed to work on. They decide what behaviours are problematic and how to overcome them within the format of the programme.

Moreover, the ethical substance - the problematisation of crime and its predictors - may be interpreted, to use Miller and Rose's (1990) terminology, as an 'expert discourse'. Professionals involved in the rehabilitation of young offenders attempt to regulate society by reducing criminality, but this is done by arguing that avoidance of criminality and its predictors is beneficial to their clients (because it increases their self-confidence, self-esteem and so on). This duality of expert systems within outdoor adventure (achieving governmental aims by stressing their value to participants) is clearly illustrated by the director of the Venture Trust. He argues that outdoor adventure aims to stop offending (a governmental aim), and that youths are incited to stop offending because to do so is to their own advantage. He also recognises that this ethical substance is suggested to young offenders, rather than freely chosen by young offenders, through the words 'we aim':

*"we aim to help people recognise that its more advantageous to themselves to behave in a more socially appropriate way, which includes not offending"*  
emphasis added.

Expert discourses not only specify criminality as the ethical substance, they also attempt to encourage youths to work on redressing predictors of criminality. In the previous chapter, it was shown that social workers and providers resist some disciplinary interpretations of outdoor adventure, preferring to comment on the advantages that it provides to participants. Some of these (self-esteem, self-confidence, feelings of trust, for example) are also correlates of criminality (Graham and Bowling 1995). Therefore, whilst



addressing these issues can benefit the participant, they simultaneously serve a governmental purpose, removing predictors which make youths 'at risk' from committing crimes. Expert discourses therefore incite youths to work on themselves in particular ways to govern through citing the benefits to the participant.

However, some claimed benefits of outdoor adventure, for example health and enjoyment, are not directly related to criminality. However, I suggest that these still serve a regulatory function, for the same reason as above: they incite youths to develop themselves in ways that reflect governmental aims (reduced criminality) through perceived positive benefits to the self. Participating in outdoor adventure, for example, was agreed to create feelings of enjoyment. This benefits the participant thorough experience of this affective state, but it also achieves governmental aims because individuals are incited to participate in something that they enjoy but which also addresses their criminality. As social worker C claimed:

“if they don't enjoy it they won't go. If they don't go they're going to get into more trouble”.

Thus, the positive factors that problematised a disciplinary interpretation based solely in *Discipline and Punish* can be seen, through a governmental interpretation, as an intrinsic element of outdoor adventure's regulatory functions. They either directly mediate criminality by addressing predictors of criminality, or reduce criminality indirectly by inciting youths to participant in programmes which encourage them to work on their criminality. The ethical substance of criminality and its predictors within ethical work can therefore be argued to be an expert discourse which contributes to social regulation because individuals are incited to work on particular problems that have implications for social governance, through discourses which posit the perceived benefits of such work to the individual.

Expert discourses do not merely effect the ethical substance; they also influence the *mode d'assujettissement* - that subjects should be responsible - through which criminality comes to be perceived as a problem. Understanding criminality in terms of the responsibility of individuals is only one possible

interpretation of crime and criminals. It is clearly based on a philosophy of individual culpability, suggesting that offending is the choice of rational actors and that it is controllable. For example, practice team leader 5 claimed:

“I think people make the choice about offending or not.”

This philosophy can be disputed on (at least) two grounds. First, it suggests that young offenders are rational actors who will seek to minimise their own suffering and that of others. This ‘rational-responsible being’ is a very partial picture of humanity that can be criticised for failing to recognise the multiplicity (and sometimes irrationality) of human motivations. People do not always act to minimise their own suffering - self-destructive behaviour is an obvious example - nor to minimise the suffering of others - deliberate maiming can be a deliberation cause for offending rather than, as is suggested by this philosophy, an unintended and regretted outcome. Second, the assumption that criminality is a choice can also be disputed. As has been pointed out, writers on criminality have argued that a variety of factors correlate with crime, many of which are beyond youths’ capacity to change (for example, social and economic problems such as poverty and social class, or familial factors such as single parenthood, or parental and sibling criminality).

The ethical substance of responsibility is therefore only one particular approach to crime. Yet, despite the fact that it is only a partial picture of criminality, the idea of rational citizens who stop committing crimes because they realise their responsibilities, still dominates outdoor adventure interviews. The extensive reach of a singular conception of crime within outdoor adventure and social work suggests that outdoor adventure participants do not independently realise their responsibility, and problematise their criminality, but instead are taught to think in these ways. Outdoor adventure programmes therefore also incite people to believe in their responsibility (and the associated benefit of empowerment) which, in turn, incites them to work on their criminal activities or potentialities.

Expert discourses on criminality and responsibility therefore frame crime prevention (a governmental aim) in ways which are seen to be advantageous to the individual. Being induced to perceive the benefits of law abiding

behaviour to themselves, youths stop offending. Thus, through their own decisions (though this decision-making process has been externally informed by expert discourses), participants simultaneously benefit themselves and achieve a governmental aim. The empowered subject is also a regulated subject.

This regulated subject is not only regulated within the outdoor adventure 'institutions'. The discourse of empowered individuals suggests that outdoor adventure programmes teach young offenders to practise self-regulation over the long-term, that is, beyond programme length and outwith institutional influences. Empowered individuals are able to control and to develop their behaviours themselves, rather than relying on institutional help and assistance, meaning that ethical work can be continued in non-institutionalised settings. The belief in this long term self-regulation is apparent in the way that outdoor adventure providers and social workers see clients continuing to develop and to progress once they have left the programmes. This is a widespread discourse but best summarised by the director of Care Afloat. He claimed that outdoor adventure programmes have long term effects because they empower individuals to control their own lives:

"There's a long term effect in there. When the young people arrive they arrive with a toolbox. Our job is to put as many tools in that box as we can. You know so that they can go out and use those tools. Some of those tools will be emotional, some will be social, some will be skills that they've learned. Our aim is long term. We're not about giving people two weeks on a boat and thank you very much. That just provides nice memories. What this is about is using it as a tool for the development of that youngster."

He went on to give a specific example of one participant, who learned how to work on herself through this programme, and who has sustained such changes beyond the programme end and outside of the institutionalised setting:

"There was one young women who came, spent three months on the boat [tall ship], and it proved [turned out] she was involved in a lot of quite serious offences for fraud. And she wasn't looking after herself either. She spent three months on the boat in winter and the boost it gave to her ego and self esteem, and the practice it gave her in looking after herself and resisting temptation changed her whole life. She's not offended since she left. I believed it saved her life because she was at risk of dying

because she wasn't looking after herself properly and was getting involved in the drug culture and things."

This quote indicates that outdoor adventure programmes, like Foucault's ethical work, encourage individuals to care for themselves as a long-term endeavour, rather than a confined institutional practice. Outdoor adventure encourages youths to regulate themselves in accordance with expert discourses in the long-term, and outside of outdoor adventure institutions, because participants are empowered to care for themselves in the future in social, emotional and practical ways. Outdoor adventure installs an ethical attitude and practice that continues long after any specific outdoor adventure programme has ended.

Outdoor adventures' ethics therefore shares similarities with governmentality - regulation proceeds through individual choices (ethics) made in accordance with social truths (expert systems), and which are practised in the long term and independently of direct institutional influence. However, outdoor adventure's ethics vary in one important way from existing theories of governance; they obviously and explicitly use disciplinary instruments.

#### **7.4. DISCIPLINING ETHICAL WORK**

Chapter 3 argued that existing theories of governmentality have mistakenly ignored disciplinary influences, and this theoretical argument is empirically supported here, in the analysis of outdoor adventure's regulatory role. Outdoor adventure programmes observe, judge and penalise an individual's ethical work, meaning that individual ethics are influenced by the disciplinary instruments of observation, judgement and penalties, as well as by governmental instruments; namely, expert systems. This is most clearly illustrated, and is analysed here, through the apparently 'voluntary' choice to engage with ethics which, it is argued, is not always as 'voluntary' as it appears.

Throughout the interview data, and across most the programmes studied, there

is a clear absence of the compulsory nature of overtly disciplinary institutions, entailing instead an emphasis on voluntary participation:

“This is completely voluntary, so, what we have that they don’t [penal sentences] is that people choose to come here, and they choose to come, knowing that its going to be challenging and that its about changing, they still come. Therefore you’ve got a head start on every other organisation that obliges people to attend”

Venture Trust Director.

This emphasis on voluntary participation, as argued in section 7.2.4, may provide feelings of empowerment because individuals appear to take control of their own lives and act in ways of their own choosing. Participation is, however, heavily influenced by external observation and judgement.

The choice to participate in outdoor adventure programmes is never completely free because it is suggested by figures in authority. Many social workers claim that, although they suggest outdoor activity programmes to their clients, it is ultimately the decision of the participants to go. However, some social workers recognise the pressures that accompany their suggestions. When talking of recommending people to the Fairbridge programme, social worker F said:

“I think clients often agree to things because of the power that we have. Actually I don’t have any power to make anybody go to Fairbridge, but they [young offenders] see you in this authority role and so if you say so, they go.”

Similarly social worker C said he recommends Fairbridge to almost all of his clients, and when asked how many went he replied:

“most people will go to the initial interview because they think it’s something they’ve got to do.”

Because outdoor adventure is suggested by people who have authority over young offenders, participants apparently (and paradoxically) feel obliged to volunteer for outdoor adventure programmes. Though participants are given a choice, it is clear from these quotes that it is not felt to be a free choice, and in fact, some young offenders perceive participation to be compulsory – “it’s something *they’ve got to do*”. Here, then, is an example of the disciplinary hierarchical gaze. Options are suggested to young offenders by individuals who possess power over them, and who will observe, know and judge the choices

they make. This asymmetrical power relationship clearly influences many young offenders' decision to participate.

Persuasion to go on programmes does not only come from social workers. One organisation is set up as a direct alternative to custody; offenders can go on a three month outdoor programme or go to prison. Though these two sentences are posited as options, the prison stretch may also be interpreted as a penalty for non-participation in outdoor adventure. Given these pressures, young offender participation in outdoor adventure cannot be considered a freely made decision<sup>10</sup>.

Participation, therefore, cannot be viewed as a completely freely made decision because it is influenced by expert systems and by the disciplinary influence of the hierarchical gaze and normalising judgement. Although most outdoor adventure practitioners and social workers stress voluntary participation, and although subjects are rarely overtly forced to participate, they *are* heavily influenced by the disciplinary instruments of external observation, judgements and penalties. Perceptions of voluntarism must therefore be mediated; although the final decision to participate (or not) rests with the client, external pressures act upon the young person's decision-making process.

The role of discipline within ethics is not restricted to influencing the choice of participation; it continues throughout the course. Outdoor adventure programmes do not encourage ethical work simply through citing potential benefits (i.e. expert discourses), they also punish failures to engage in ethical work. This is again most clearly illustrated through the Airborne Initiative, a programme that young offenders can choose to go on as an alternative to prison. Failure to participate fully in the Airborne Initiative programme results in a prison sentence. The disciplinary influence has also been recognised in chapter 6, which illustrated the extensive disciplinary influences which operated throughout the outdoor adventure programme; although self-

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<sup>10</sup> In some cases participation in outdoor adventure is a compulsory court order (see appendix 3). Most programmes however stress the voluntary nature of participation.



regulation does occur, this is clearly accompanied by obvious and overt forms of discipline. The choices and actions that participants make on outdoor adventure programmes, then, are therefore being constantly observed, judged and, if judged deviant, penalised; clear evidence that the disciplinary instruments of control - hierarchical observation and the normalising gaze - operate and influence the practice of ethical work.

However, because of the conjuncture of individual empowerment *and* disciplinary influences within ethical work, discipline, while *influencing* a subject's decision, cannot be seen as *enforcing* particular decisions or actions. In fact, many subjects resist the disciplinary influences, choosing not to participate in outdoor adventure. Ethical work within outdoor adventure therefore provides feelings of empowerment, because subjects have the final choice of whether or not to participate in outdoor adventure for rehabilitation, but this choice is made within the context of expert discourses *and* disciplinary influences.

## **7.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHICS, TRUTH (EXPERT) DISCOURSES, AND DISCIPLINE**

These examples, disciplining the choice to participate, and disciplining the quality and practice of ethical work once on a course, blur the distinction between Foucauldian ethics and Foucauldian discipline. Observation, and judgement are, as was shown in chapter 6, disciplinary strategies. Furthermore, the observation, judgement and punishment of 'deviancies' from the goal of responsibility suggests that that responsibility does not simply have the status of a choice, or an expert discourse, but is a social norm. The ethical work of young offenders is then complex. It is chosen and performed by individuals, it is encouraged through expert systems, and is externally assessed, judged.

Governmentality through outdoor adventure has two effects. Through participants apparently 'choosing' and 'doing' ethical work, they appear to

become empowered. However, ethical work also regulates individuals, because their choices are explicitly influenced through expert or truth discourses and instruments of discipline which incite youths to redress their criminal behaviour. Governmentality hence proceeds from choices made in relation to threats of punishment and promised potential benefits (expert systems), taking the form of the ethical work done by individuals, but that ethical work is externally determined by social norms and by external judgements. However, while it is wrong to consider outdoor adventure's regulatory effects as a-disciplinary, it would be equally mistaken to consider them as only disciplinary. Disciplinary influences are complemented by other, positive inducements such as the promise of feelings of empowerment and enjoyability. Outdoor adventure can induce participants to practise regulatory ethical work by offering desired developmental and affective outcomes as well as utilising discipline. Governance proceeds through influencing individual ethical work through the carrot *and* the stick.<sup>11</sup>

This analysis has recognised that governmentality in outdoor adventure uses disciplinary instruments alongside truth discourses. Although these *influence* an individual's decision making process and actions, they do not *control* these, because agency (that is individual choice) is intrinsic to the ethical work through which governance proceeds. The importance of agency has been acknowledged in the role that agents play in choosing to practice, and in practising ethical work. However, so far in this analysis the agent appears to comply with the disciplinary and regulatory influences. That is, although the importance of agent choice has been acknowledged, the only choices so far analysed have been the choices which succumb to disciplinary and regulatory pressures, and hence practise 'ethical work'. Although this approach is

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<sup>11</sup> However, one thing this analysis cannot do, because based in outdoor adventure programmes, is to examine whether disciplinary practices accompanys the self-regulation of individuals outside of the outdoor programmes. The discourse of empowerment has indicated that self-regulation is not restricted to these programmes, but the analysis of discipline in the study has necessarily been limited to institutional disciplines (the disciplinary influence of social workers, and the observation and judgement within programmes). I would envisage that some form of discipline continues out of institutions (social observation and judgement of individual responsibility, for example), but empirical support for this idea is beyond the reach of this study.

necessary for a study of the presence and effects of ethical practice in outdoor adventure, it runs the risk of suggesting that disciplinary influences and social regulation *always* persuade subjects to accept them. This would be tantamount to a vision of totalised social control. Given the criticisms levelled at Foucault for his structural bias and his alleged depiction of passive subjects (chapter 3 section 3.2.2), this possible mis-interpretation needs to be avoided. A balanced recognition of agency that acknowledges not only its capacity to act in compliance with, but also its ability to resist, these influences is needed. This would emphasise that the regulatory and disciplinary influences are just that, *influences*; and that agents always have the capacity to choose, either to comply or to resist.

## 7.6 RESISTANCE

The theoretical framework of this analysis acknowledges the potential for resistance (although heavily influenced through truth discourses and discipline, it is the active agent who ultimately decides), and this theoretical resistance is substantiated by this study's empirical findings. Interview data, whilst recognising the role of the expert systems in encouraging compliance and of discipline in discouraging non-compliance, also recognises that not all people succumb to the disciplinary influences or to the expert discourses within outdoor adventure.

There are several forms of 'resistance' to outdoor adventure's regulatory influences. At the point of participation, there is both a direct resistance - individuals simply refuse to participate in outdoor adventure programmes - and an indirect resistance - participation is not directly rejected but is still avoided. Resistance can also be observed amongst individuals who participate in outdoor adventure courses; some participants re-define the purpose of outdoor adventure programmes, and, instead of using programmes as an opportunity to redress their offending behaviours, use it as an occasion to commit crimes or to learn how to become more efficient criminals.

Because participation in outdoor adventure is a choice, young offenders can resist its regulatory and disciplinary effects by simply refusing social workers' suggestions to participate. Social worker C, who was quoted earlier as saying that most youths felt it was something that they had to do, still claimed that a large number of youths simply refused to participate. Talking of the numbers of people to whom he referred outdoor adventure, and the numbers who actually go, he said:

"probably half [will go]. Maybe a bit more than a half, maybe two thirds will try it."

This means that one-third to a half of the people to whom outdoor adventure was suggested chose not to participate. Many other social workers also claimed that many of their clients refused to go on outdoor adventure programmes that were suggested to them. Even more youths display minimal levels of participation, for example, they might attend a preliminary interview but not go on the course (this was recognised by social worker C and the Venture Scotland worker). Alongside this direct resistance are more subtle forms of resistance. Social worker E claimed that young offenders may agree to go on programmes, but then avoid actual attendance:

"they don't go to appointments, they miss the bus, their mum didn't give them the bus fares, these types of things."

Resistance to regulatory and disciplinary influences in outdoor adventure is then evident at the point of participation.

Individuals that do consent to go on programmes may also resist. Some participants use outdoor adventure to facilitate criminal activities rather than to reduce them. Participants at the Venture Trust and at Scottish Centres, for example, used the programmes as an opportunity to commit crimes in the villages near where the programmes were based. The Venture Trust Director claimed:

"there were problems in Torridon in '95 when two people ran away....and they stole cars and broke into property and stuff."

Social worker F sent a young offender to Scottish Centres where he, along with a few others, caused havoc:

“we arranged this expedition thing with Scottish Centres and it looked great. I really didn’t think he was going to go, but he did. I was amazed. And it lasted thirty six hours! It was supposed to be for two weeks. On the second day they went into Braemar. There were four of them and they were allowed to go into Braemar, and in the space of an hour they had committed something like thirty crimes, and they had all the local constabulary out looking for them. Ended up having to go hospital too ‘cause they’d been buzzing petrol.”

Outdoor adventure programmes may therefore be used as an opportunity to commit crimes instead of reducing their offending behaviour, an inversion of purpose that is a clear form of resistance.

A further concern expressed by social workers is that outdoor adventure programmes may be used as ‘schools of crime’ by young offenders. Because such programmes tend to have concentrations of young offenders, it is feared that these will provide opportunities to learn skills, ideas and attitudes to crime from other participants, making youths keener and more effective criminals:

“The only problem would be having a lot of young offenders together in the same place talking about offending. I don’t know what they talk about when they’re there, but it’s the same theory as when they’re in jail. They’re mixed with other offenders and you can bet your bottom dollar they’re talking about offending”  
Social worker C.

The ‘educational’ impact of outdoor adventure then may make more effective offenders.

A final form of resistance identified in interview data, was that the skills and status obtained from outdoor adventure programmes can be used to increase, rather than to reduce, criminality. This was clearly argued by social worker D, who claimed that one youth had done extremely well on the Airborne Initiative programme, but, that this success had led to his own and others’ increased, rather than reduced, criminality. His status as a graduate of the Airborne Initiative gave him increased influence amongst his peers, enabling him to incite others into criminal activities:

“I think there’s also a danger that when someone has been successful and they have gone back to their peers and said ‘Oh I’ve done this and I’m a big tough guy’, and use their aggression to force, or get others to do things they normally wouldn’t do. Two of my clients.... they’d told me about him, and I knew this guy as well, but it wasn’t my client, and he was actually using these bullying tactics to get the kids, the younger one to do things, that you know, because he was big, because he had got the certificate [Airborne Initiative Graduation certificate], he has achieved this where nobody else has achieved this. He was using it, he twisted it round, he was using it for his own ends.”

Outdoor adventure programmes, whilst the site of discipline and regulation, are also the site of resistances to those influences. Because, as Foucault argues, discipline and regulation work through the individual, resistance is always possible. In outdoor adventure resistance can be seen to occur in many different ways. Despite the extensive disciplinary influence, and the influence of expert systems to encourage young offenders into compliance with governmental aims, young offenders have the ability to resist such structural and social forces. Outdoor adventure, then, is an example of Foucauldian discipline and governance which illustrates the centrality of the concepts of agency and resistance to Foucault’s theories.

## **7.7 CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER**

This Foucauldian interpretation of outdoor adventure’s processes of governance recognises that disciplinary influences and expert system influences co-exist, and that these structural forces discipline and regulate society through the agency of the individual. This interpretation then clearly utilises the three fold conception of the subject that informed Foucault’s work. The agency of the individual is recognised through its intrinsic role within ethics (i.e. choice, ascetics and its capacity for resistance), the role of the truth discourse is recognised through expert systems (positing desired outcomes), and the role of discipline is also acknowledged. In doing so, this theoretical framework not only theorises processes of governance in outdoor adventure, it also overcomes those problems posed at the start of this chapter.



Criticisms alleging that a Foucauldian interpretation is overly structural become untenable in a thesis which recognises that agency has such an important role to play. It recognises that disciplinary influences, regulatory effects and experiences of empowerment can co-exist, refuting criticisms, levelled by Dews (1984) and Garland (1990b) that a Foucauldian image of society necessitates passive actors who are 'done to' rather than 'do'. This approach also recognises that the extra-disciplinary effects of outdoor adventure programmes recognised by social workers and providers need not be anomalies in an analysis of regulation of criminality, but, because they are components of expert discourses, comprise intrinsic elements of the regulatory process. Moreover, by creating empowered subjects, individuals can be understood to regulate themselves, outside of institutions, and their immediate impacts, thereby enabling the long term self-regulation of criminality and its predictors.

## CHAPTER EIGHT: Conclusion

Chapter 1 explained the five aims of this thesis:

- to investigate how outdoor adventure has been constructed as leisure and to highlight the negative effects of this construction,
- to understand the perceptions of leisure that have informed media criticisms,
- to examine the possibility of interpreting outdoor adventure as a form of Foucauldian social control,
- to explore whether leisure more generally may be a form of social control, and
- to contribute to the application of Foucault's ideas of regulation and control in leisure studies.

Each of these aims will be assessed in the light of the preceding analysis and discussion.

The constructed nature of outdoor adventure's representation as 'leisure' has been clearly identified. Although a dominant discourse, the alleged immorality and inefficacy of the use of a (residual) leisure activity to rehabilitate young offenders has been problematised. The tactics by which this perspective has been constructed, maintained and naturalised have been identified, revealing how its basis lies in discursive strategies which create the appearance of 'truth'. Moreover, this dominant construction has been shown to be problematic in two ways. First, it has had a detrimental effect on the use of outdoor adventure: fearing repercussions (from the public, the media and the government, social workers have limited their use of outdoor adventure rehabilitative programmes. Second, it has drawn on and perpetuated a residual perspective of leisure. Despite theoretical criticism that the residual perspective does not adequately account for the role and function of leisure because it simply understands leisure as work's subsidiary and support (chapter 2), critics of outdoor adventure's rehabilitative function effectively draw upon this selfsame perspective to support their own stance. These findings - the constructed nature of the outdoor adventure discourse, the construction of leisure as residual and their problematic effects - have clearly pointed to the need and scope to

challenge the criticisms of outdoor adventure rehabilitative programmes as 'leisure'. This is *possible* because these perspectives are demonstrated to be perceptions rather than 'truths', and it is *needed* because of their negative repercussions. This adds to the existing critique of residual interpretations of leisure (for example, Cohen 1992, Rojek 1989, 1993 and Wearing 1998).

Following from this, outdoor adventure programmes were interpreted as forms of Foucauldian social control (chapters 6 and 7). Both disciplinary tactics and self-regulation operate within these programmes. This governmental duality is important for public perceptions of outdoor adventure, and it has implications for understanding such programmes' potential effectiveness. First, the presence of disciplinary mechanisms and the emphasis upon control may appeal to the recognised punitive atmosphere surrounding criminal penalties (chapter 1). Understanding outdoor adventure programmes in this way may replace the discourse of outdoor adventure as a reward with a more overtly disciplinary perception, perhaps undermining its public condemnation and contributing to its public acceptability - a strategy already recognised within providers' counter-discourse of outdoor adventure. In terms of its effectiveness as a site of social control, the presence of disciplinary mechanisms suggests effective 'institutional' control, whilst the presence of self-regulation indicates a long-term internal governance which can operate outwith these institutional settings. Outdoor adventure therefore disciplines its participants and incites their self-regulation, although this governance is not negative: it has positive outcomes for both society (rehabilitating young offenders) and young offenders themselves (who are seen to benefit in various ways).

The duality of governance within outdoor adventure is also important for another aim of this study, namely to investigate if leisure in general can be conceived of as a form of Foucauldian control. Outdoor adventure is the specific leisure example that may reveal the social role of the wider sphere of activity to which it belongs. Perceptions of outdoor adventure draw on two perspectives of 'leisure'; it is criticised by some as 'residual', but valued by others (social workers and providers) as a leisure activity that doubles as an effective tool of social control (chapter five). Because outdoor adventure is

utilised as a form of control through leisure, it may be suggested that many other 'leisure' activities also control through disciplinary influences, self-regulation, or both. This therefore contributes to leisure studies research which suggests that leisure is a site of social control (Coalter 1989, Corrigan and Sayer 1985, Critcher 1989, Deem 1982, Green et al 1996, Hargreaves 1985, Heely 1986, Henry and Braham 1986, Rojek 1989, 1993, Van Moorst 1982, Wearing 1998). Moreover, a Foucauldian interpretation of leisure's control function is a particularly useful one.

It has been argued that although theories of leisure's influence on social control exist, they are problematic (chapter 2). Structuralist interpretations of control tend to ignore the freedom that is experienced as an important part of 'leisure' and ignore the role of human agency. By realising how discipline can proceed through self-regulation, this Foucauldian analysis illustrates how governance can simultaneously control individuals *and* provide them with experiences of freedom and autonomy, and it also recognises the role of individual agency. Control through self-regulation has been recognised before (Corrigan and Sayer 1985, Rojek 1989), but these interpretations tend to prioritise a dominant power and a subjected subject (chapter 2 section 2.5). The sensitivity of a Foucauldian analysis to the ubiquity of power (chapter 3 section 3.2.3) overcomes this by appreciating how all people are involved in governance, that is in creating and enforcing social norms. In outdoor adventure there is not only hierarchical observation, judgement and enforcement of social norms, it is also lateral - young offenders regulate each other, external - from people unconnected to the institution and its power relationships, and internal - the self regulates the self. This Foucauldian analysis has the further advantage of explicitly recognising how control proceeds in one leisure setting - the disciplinary tactics and the operation of the expert discourse (and the form that they take) have been investigated within outdoor adventure, providing a detailed understanding of how people are disciplined and self-regulate within this context. This thesis therefore suggests that there is great value in understanding leisure as social control; it contributes to the theoretical understandings of leisure (and control), and it elucidates the practical operation of social control.

Lastly, this thesis also contributes to Foucauldian philosophy. Garland (1990) has criticised Foucauldian scholars for prioritising abstract theorisations rather than substantive studies, which has resulted in a plethora of conceptualisations but little empirical application of Foucault's ideas. This thesis clearly contributes to the substantive investigation of Foucauldian philosophy. Yet this study has contributed theoretically as well as empirically. Although the value of existing theories of governmentality to understanding contemporary methods of control has been discussed in chapter 3 (for example the work of Dean 1995, Miller and Rose 1990, Rose 1990, Rose and Miller 1992), these theories have tended to ignore the influence of discipline within self-regulation (section 3.3.3). Chapter 7 empirically supports this conceptual criticism by arguing that discipline does not just proceed *alongside* self-regulation, but is directly involved *in* self regulation. Moreover, theories of governmentality have not been widely applied; instead, they appear to have been focussed upon health issues (Bunton 1997, Nettleton 1997, Peterson 1997) or economic governance (Dean 1995, Ewald 1991, Miller and Rose 1990, Rose 1992). This thesis sits within the body of work that understands and examines contemporary social control through self-regulation, but extends this idea into another substantive area - the governance of criminality through outdoor adventure - and suggests that theories of governmentality can be conceptually improved by explicitly acknowledging the influence of discipline alongside truth discourses and ethical practice. This study has also explicitly recognised the possibilities of resistance to discipline and self-regulation to highlight that a Foucauldian analysis does not presume, as some have claimed, a passive population who are acted upon and cannot resist (for example Dews 1984, Garland 1990b). Instead, it is an approach that contributes to interpretations of Foucault which value people's capacity to act on themselves, or to resist governmental influence (for example, Heller 1996, Patton 1998, and Pickett 1996).

Although this thesis has contributed to many fields - the legitimisation of the rehabilitative use of outdoor adventure; developing theoretical understandings of outdoor adventure's processes and effects; theorising leisure's social role; and contributing to, and applying Foucauldian concepts of control - there remains much room for further Foucauldian research into outdoor

adventure. The rest of this chapter will identify some of the limitations of this study, and suggest some future directions for research. This discussion is organised around the three main arenas to which this thesis contributes: leisure studies, Foucauldian philosophy, and investigations into outdoor adventure.

This study suggests that leisure in general may be a form of Foucauldian control, but does not provide any evidence for this beyond one specific example. It contributes to an emerging field of Foucauldian interpretations of leisure - for example, Eskes et al (1998) examine how magazines inciting women to become fit through the rhetoric of empowerment are in fact a disciplinary tool - but as yet this field remains small, and appears to focus on a few specific examples of leisure activities. Other leisure activities, either specific examples or leisure in general, therefore need to be investigated to see if this suggestion is applicable in the wider context. Related to this point, the specific example used - outdoor adventure programmes for young offenders (especially those compulsory ones) - may not be perceived as 'leisure' by all (although it was clearly thought to be leisure by many social workers, providers and critics, other providers and social workers argued that it was not leisure). Because of the ambivalent nature of these programmes' 'leisure' status, it would be perhaps more revealing of leisure's *general* social role (as opposed to the specific role of outdoor adventure rehabilitative programmes) to investigate whether outdoor adventure programmes which do not aim to rehabilitate young offenders utilise disciplinary tactics and incite self-regulation. The point being made in these two arguments is that this is a study of a very specific example which is suggestive of the social role of leisure more generally, but which cannot simply be extrapolated. More research on the disciplinary and regulatory role of leisure, and of outdoor adventure, needs to be done to be able to state with confidence that all outdoor adventure as well as leisure in general are sites of social control.

Another area deserving of more attention than this thesis has been able to provide is the nature of the relationship between the disciplines and governmentality. While both were found to exist, where do disciplines end and self-regulation begin, or are they contemporaneous? For example, it might



appear from the analysis of the disciplines (chapter 6) that outdoor adventure participants begin by being disciplined, and that, as discipline becomes internalised, participants self-regulate. Perhaps the disciplines impart the expert systems which determine that, and how, people self-regulate? However, the relationship between the two cannot be so simple because self-regulation was perceived to be operating when a person chose to go on a programme (that is at the programme's start rather than at the end). Moreover, these two forms of governance appear to constitute very different subjectivities. The disciplines attempt to produce docile productive bodies whilst governmentality produces empowered and responsible individuals. Investigating how individuals negotiate between these two, apparently conflicting, subjectivities which result from the operation of discipline and self-regulation would be a study designed to analyse not only how discipline proceeds, but also its effects upon individuals and its constitution of subjectivities. The relationships between discipline and self-regulation would be an interesting area of research: how are they related to each other, when are people disciplined and when do they regulate themselves, and how do discipline and governmentality interplay in terms of process and effects?

Third, and still pertaining to a Foucauldian perspective, the ethics (in a non-Foucauldian sense) of control, can be examined. While this study has aimed to reveal the practices of control within outdoor adventure, it has not been normative, and this differs from Foucault who developed the disciplinary thesis with radical intent; he aimed to illustrate to people that they were, and how they were, being controlled to enable them to resist this. This thesis was not informed by an emphasis upon resistance because the use of outdoor adventure to rehabilitate young offenders is not necessarily something to be avoided; social control (at least in terms of the prevention of criminality) is widely perceived to be a 'good thing'. These programmes also explicitly state that behavioural control is an aim. In this instance, then, control is ethically supportable and valued, rather than something covert that should be resisted; people choose to attend such programmes knowing that is about change and social control. But what if outdoor adventure and leisure more generally are a form of social control which acts and exerts an influence upon everyone,

and what if it is not something knowingly chosen but a covert form of unavoidable social control? There are then clear ethical issues surrounding wider Foucauldian investigations into control through leisure, and questions can be asked about whether, and why it is tolerable in some situations but not others, and whether leisure's social control functions should be recognised and supported (as in this study where outdoor adventure's control role has been recognised to support its rehabilitative use), or if, like Foucault, it should be exposed with radical intent. These ethical questions should supplement any analysis into the role of leisure - it is not just a question of what leisure does, but why it does it and the consequences of this. For example, is it to lead to social harmony or social conditioning and indoctrination?

This argument links into questions about the interface between governmentality and neo-liberal ethics. Neo-liberals claim to celebrate the freedom of individuals to determine their own life as much as possible (Peterson 1997); ethical behaviour is that which gives every individual as much autonomy as possible. However, by arguing that the 'autonomous' individual is in fact regulated, theories of governmentality problematise this belief. Neo-liberalism can instead be seen as covert form of control, and this perception undermines claims of the 'ethical' nature of neo-liberalism in two ways. First, theories of governmentality suggest that neo-liberalism does not reduce the operation of power (and therefore increase individual autonomy), but merely hides it under the guise of autonomy. This clearly questions the validity of understanding neo-liberalism as an acknowledgement of the importance of, and provision of the ability to, practise autonomy. It is seen instead as a form of control, one that is simply better disguised than other overt forms of control such as the welfare state (see Garland 1997).

Secondly, by prioritising the ethical, responsible actor, collective action is sidelined. Rimke (2000) has argued that this has potential detrimental effects for individuals and society. In relying on themselves as individuals, people may become isolated from social networks and relationships, and, because society expects everyone to help themselves, there is a risk that those unable or unwilling to do so will become increasingly marginalised. The autonomy

of the individual, although an ethical argument underpinning the move toward neo-liberalism, can be interpreted as 'unethical' because it disguises the operation of power - limiting potentials for resistance therefore decreasing rather than increasing autonomy - and because it divides society into individual units; in Foucauldian terminology, socially 'enclosing' individuals. This may also prevent resistance as interest groups are dissipated and collective action made difficult. The ethics of neo-liberalism can hence be disputed because it fails to account for, and care for, those who cannot or will not act 'responsibly', potentially resulting in marginalisation and exclusion. A Foucauldian understanding of social control therefore invites questions of the ethical nature of governance which claims to maximise individual autonomy, on ground of its possibility and its desirability.

A fourth useful direction for future work would be to look at how *participants* experience outdoor adventure or, more generally, leisure. For reasons explained in chapter 4, this research has focused on providers and people that recommend the use of outdoor adventure, and has focused on perceptions rather than experiences. Outdoor adventure programmes are clearly perceived to embody self-regulation and the disciplines, but are these perceptions true of the real experiences of clients? Not only will research in this direction reveal whether the actual experiences of leisure agree with these perceptions, this will also overcome an unavoidable drawback of this research (recognised in chapter 4): by focusing on providers instead of participants, this research may have unintentionally led to the marginalisation of the viewpoint of offenders themselves.

Lastly, chapter 1 pointed to two problems of outdoor adventure research which has hindered its influence; methodological problems and its perceived morality. This thesis has effectively focussed on the latter, but it may also have an impact on the former. Some of the criticisms of outdoor adventure research lie in the so called black box effect (Handley 1992), that is, what goes into outdoor adventure and what comes out is known, but the process of change remains under-examined. This is illustrated by the many psychometric tests of outdoor adventure efficacy, in which people are measured on various scales at

outset, and at the end (or for periods after programme completion) to measure changes (see for example Watts et al 1992, 1993). The emphasis on how control proceeds within outdoor adventure in this Foucauldian analysis suggests one way to theorise outdoor adventure processes. Other outdoor adventure programmes in other contexts could therefore be investigated for their possible use of Foucauldian methods of governance, meaning that a Foucauldian analysis of outdoor adventure may not only mediate its alleged immorality, it may also contribute to the understanding of the practices of outdoor adventure. Therefore, as well as contributing to theories of leisure's function as social control and Foucauldian theories of governmentality, this research is also situated within outdoor adventure research. Through suggesting a Foucauldian understanding of the 'how' of outdoor adventure it contributes to the work of writers such as Carpenter and Priest (1989), Ewart and Hollenhurst (1994), Gass (1991), Martin and Priest (1986), Mortlock (1987), Nichols, (1998) and Ringer and Gillis (1997), who have attempted to understand not the effects of outdoor adventure but how it actually works.

This study has contributed to the understanding of outdoor adventure rehabilitative use, leisure studies and Foucauldian philosophy, and has pointed out ways to develop the insights gained still further. In doing so, the thesis has contributed to studies in the outdoor adventure, leisure and Foucauldian fields, both conceptually and substantively, and hopefully its impact will go beyond the academic field and effect the practical uptake of outdoor adventure and challenge the way that people think about leisure and freedom.

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## APPENDIXES

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## **APPENDIX 1: LETTERS**

### **1.1 INITIAL LETTER SENT TO CANVAS SOCIAL AND PROBATION SERVICE'S USE OF OUTDOOR ADVENTURE**

Dear (social service / probation service team director)

My name is Katrina Benstead and I am Ph.D. student at Edinburgh University. I am investigating the use of outdoor activity based programmes to rehabilitate young offenders (in the context of my study this refers to the under 21's) by social services (probation services) in Great Britain, either as an alternative to custody or as a condition on probation and supervision orders, or as a recommend supplementary activity. I am also interested in its use as a care option, or any other uses of outdoor activity programmes for young people and children.

More specifically I have been looking into media and professional perceptions of the role of outdoor activities; the ambiguity of using what is often perceived to be a 'leisure' activity for such a serious role, and the effects of perceptions on outdoor activity's use in a rehabilitation context.

I am writing to ask if your department would be able to help me with a few questions. First, I am interested in whether your department recommends young offenders to any such outdoor adventure programmes, and if so, if it is possible to get the address of that centre? This is to gain an understanding of the extent of use of outdoor adventure programmes within social work (probation work) departments across Britain, and to discover which organisations are used.

It would also be very valuable for me to know if you do use outdoor adventure programmes, why do you feel it is beneficial in comparison with more traditional sentences, how many young offenders do you recommend to this form of sentences in a year, and also on what criteria is such a recommendation made? Alternatively, if you do not use such provision I



am equally interested in why not, and would be grateful for any reasons you can tell me explaining your use, or non-use of outdoor adventure rehabilitative programmes.

I do hope that you are able to help me with my enquires. If you need any more information as to the nature of my research, I will be quite happy to provide you with more details. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Katrina Benstead

## **1.2 FOLLOW UP LETTER TO NON-RESPONDENTS OF FIRST CANVAS**

Dear (social service / probation service team director),

I am Katrina Benstead , a PhD student at Edinburgh University. In early July I wrote to this Social Service Department, requesting information on your use of outdoor adventure rehabilitation programmes. I realise that you are very busy (especially as I wrote to you in the holiday season), but as I haven't yet received a reply I am writing again, in case my letter was misplaced or lost.

I am investigating the use of outdoor activity based programmes to rehabilitate young offenders (in the context of my study this refers to the under 21's) by social services (probation services) in Great Britain, either as an alternative to custody or as a condition on probation and supervision orders, or as a recommended supplementary activity. I am also interested in its use as a care option, or any other uses of outdoor activity programmes for young people and children.

More specifically I have been looking into media and professional perceptions of the role of outdoor activities; the ambiguity of using what is often perceived to be a 'leisure' activity for such a serious role, and the effects of perceptions on outdoor activity's use in a rehabilitation context.

I am writing to ask if your department would be able to help me with a few questions. First, I am interested in whether your department recommends young offenders to any such outdoor adventure programmes, and if so, if it is possible to get the address of that centre? This is to gain an understanding of the extent of use of outdoor adventure programmes within social work (probation work) departments across Britain, and to discover which organisations are used.

It would also be very valuable for me to know if you do use outdoor adventure programmes, why do you feel it is beneficial in comparison with more traditional sentences, how many young offenders do you recommend to this form of sentences in a year, and also on what criteria is such a recommendation made? Alternatively, if you do not use such provision I am equally interested in why not, and would be grateful for any reasons you can tell me explaining your use, or non-use of outdoor adventure rehabilitative programmes.

I do hope that you are able to help me with my enquires. If you need any more information as to the nature of my research, I will be quite happy to provide you with more details. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Katrina Benstead

### **1.3 LETTER REQUESTING BROCHURES FROM OUTDOOR ADVENTURE PROVIDERS**

Dear (organisation director),

My name is Katrina Benstead , and I am doing a PhD at Edinburgh University. My research topic is the treatment of young offenders. More specifically I am looking at the use of activity ventures as a form of rehabilitation.

I came across your organisation through a canvas of social service and probation services in the UK. Would it be possible for you to send me any information on the centre? I realise this is a rather vague request, but I am still at an exploratory , investigative point in my research, and am not yet in a position to ask specific questions. I would however greatly appreciate any background information, brochures, or general literature which you have to distribute to interested parties, which might cover issues such as your underlying philosophy, actual practices at your centre, who are your clients (and who decides this and funds them); your level of success ( in personal development, re-offending rates etc.), and so on.

I hope you can help me in my research and look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Katrina Benstead

## **1.4 LETTER REQUESTING INTERVIEW WITH OUTDOOR ADVENTURE PROVIDERS**

Dear (organisation director),

My name is Katrina Benstead, and I am PhD. student at Edinburgh University. I am researching the use of outdoor adventure as a medium for the rehabilitation of young offenders. I am looking at why this is useful, how it compares with the use of outdoor adventure for non criminals, and what factors, if any, effect outdoor adventure's popularity and the extent of its uptake by social services and the criminal justice system.

I contacted (organisation name) at the start of my research for information on your work and you kindly sent me a brochure. I am now writing to ask if it would be possible to arrange an interview with you, to discuss your organisation, and its philosophy, ethos and why you believe it would be a valuable experience for young offenders. I envisage interview lasting between half an hour and an hour, and will visit you at a time and place convenient for yourself.

I hope you can help me, because your input is very valuable to my research. I will telephone you in a few days to discuss my research more fully, answer any of your questions and see if its possible to arrange an interviews.

Thank you very much for your time and help,

Yours sincerely,

Katrina Benstead

## 1.5 LETTER ASKING FOR INTERVIEWS WITH SOCIAL WORK TEAM DIRECTORS

Dear (Practice Team Director)

My name is Katrina Benstead and I am Ph.D. student at Edinburgh University. I am investigating the use of outdoor activity based programmes to rehabilitate young offenders (in the context of my study this refers to the under 21's) by social services in Great Britain, either as an alternative to custody or as a condition on probation and supervision orders. I am also interested in its use as a care option, or any other uses of outdoor activity programmes for young people and children.

More specifically I have been looking into media and professional perceptions of the role of outdoor activities; the ambiguity of using what is often perceived to be a 'leisure' activity for such a serious role, and the effects of perceptions on outdoor activities use in a rehabilitation context. The main theme underlying my work is that this use of outdoor activities is far from 'leisure' but is an effective approach which facilitates the self development of participants.

The empirical basis of my work so far has looked at media representations of outdoor adventure based programmes for young offenders, a canvas of social service and probation services in Great Britain on their use of outdoor adventure and in depth interviews with providers of these programmes. The next, and last stage of my work is to interview social workers to find out why, or why not they would recommend these programmes for young offenders. Why is it believed to be of value, who would be thought to benefit, are there any reservations about its use? The aim being to find out what perceptions and beliefs influence social worker's decisions to use such services.

I have contacted Eleanor Cunningham, the Senior Research and Information Officer at Shrubhill house and received permission to research Edinburgh City Council social workers approach to and use of outdoor



adventure from Duncan MacAulay. I am writing to see if it is possible to arrange an interview with you on this topic. The interview should last no longer than one hour, and I would be happy to conduct it in the day or evening whichever is most convenient to yourself.

Also to get a comprehensive picture of the views of those who choose to ( or not to) recommend outdoor activity based programmess, I am hoping to interview as many social workers in your team that can find the time to talk to me. I am interested in getting all opinions and would like to talk to as many people as possible whether they believe the use of outdoor activities is useful, not useful, or are undecided.

I would be very grateful if you could either circulate this letter to social workers in your department or contact me with their names so I can send letters personally to try and arrange times to talk. I hope very much you can help me in my research, and will be in contact on the telephone in a few days to see if its possible to arrange these interviews.

Thank you very much for your time and help,

Yours sincerely,

Katrina Benstead.

## 1.6 LETTER ASKING FOR INTERVIEWS WITH SOCIAL WORKERS

(The team leader would have already introduced the study at staff meetings, so this letter is more brief than others)

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Katrina Benstead and I am a PhD researcher at Edinburgh University. My study is looking into the use of outdoor activities as a tool to rehabilitate young offenders.

I have spoken with (Team Leader), and he/she has allowed me to approach you, to ask if you have the time to have a discussion with me about your use of, and views about this use of outdoor activities. I have already interviewed providers of such programmes, and social work team leaders. I would now like the opportunity to discuss the use of outdoor activities with social workers who directly choose to use ( or not use ) these services, and who may (or may not ) see the changes that participation in these programmes may bring. This is to find out why you do or do not think they are an appropriate tool; in what circumstances would you recommend them and when not; any reservations you have about it, and its perceived benefits.

I imagine that these interviews would last about half an hour, and I am willing to do that at any time or place convenient to you. I do hope you can find the time to talk, as my study, an investigation into how and why outdoor activities are used in this context, would not be complete without the views of those so directly involved in its recommendation.

Thank you for your time and I hope to hear from you soon.

Yours sincerely

Katrina Benstead.

## 1.7 LETTERS REQUESTING INTERVIEWS WITH SHERIFFS

Dear Clerk to the Sheriffs,

My name is Katrina Benstead and I am a Ph.D. student at Edinburgh University. I am investigating the use of outdoor activity based programmes to rehabilitate young offenders (in the context of my study this refers to the under 21's) by social services in Great Britain, either as an alternative to custody or as a condition on probation and supervision orders.

More specifically I have been looking into media and professional perceptions of the role of outdoor activities; the ambiguity of using what is often perceived to be a 'leisure' activity for such a serious role, and the effects of perceptions on outdoor activities use in a rehabilitation context. The main theme underlying my work is that this use of outdoor activities is far from 'leisure' but is a disciplined approach which facilitates the development of self-discipline in participants.

The empirical basis of my work so far has looked at media representations of outdoor adventure based programmes for young offenders, a canvas of social service and probation services in Britain on their use of outdoor adventure and in depth interviews with providers of these programmes. The next, and last stage of my work is to interview social workers and courts to find out why, or why not programmes are recommended for young offenders and why or why not these recommendations are accepted by the courts.

I have contacted the Senior Research and Information Officer at Shrubhill House and received permission to research Edinburgh City Council social workers approach to and use of outdoor adventure. I am now writing to you to see if it would be possible to arrange interviews with Sheriffs that preside over young offender trials to discuss their perceptions of the effectiveness and appropriateness of such outdoor activity based sentences, and

why and in what circumstance they would or would not accept recommendations made by the social services.

If it is possible to arrange these interviews I envisage them lasting only between half an hour and an hour, and would be happy to conduct them at any place and any time (day or evening ) which is most suitable to the Sheriffs.

I do hope it is possible that this can be arranged as it is very important to my research to access the perceptions of all involved in the use of outdoor adventure in this context, and the Sheriffs who make the final decision are obviously a very important part of the choice to use or not use such programmes.

I hope very much you can help me in my research, and will be in contact on the telephone in a few days to see if its possible to arrange these interviews. If you have any queries or questions please do not hesitate to get in touch .

Thank you very much for your time and help,

Yours sincerely,

Katrina Benstead.

## APPENDIX 2: SOCIAL SERVICES AND PROBATION SERVICE CANVAS RESULTS

### APPENDIX 2.1: SOCIAL SERVICES

NUMBER THAT DID NOT REPLY		47
NUMBER THAT DID REPLY		135
NUMBER THAT ARE NON USERS		77
IN HOUSE PROVISION		8
USES SERVICES	TOTAL	50
	AIRBORNE INITIATIVE	13
	FAIRBRIDGE	11
	YOUTH AT RISK	5
	BRYN MELYN	1
	CORVEDALE CARE	3
	VENTURE TRUST	3
	OUTWARD BOUND	2
	SCOTTISH CENTRES	2
	DUKE OF EDINBURGH	2
	UPWARD AND OUTWARD	1
	THE WHITTY TREE HOUSE	1
	NACRO PROGRAMMES (UNSPECIFIED)	1
	OUTDOOR RESOURCE CENTRE	1
	PROGRESS INITIATIVE	1
	TURNAROUND	1
	DAIL TRAINING ORGANISATION	1
	DARE	1
	MARTHON OF MABIE	1
	WEST COAST ADVENTURE	1
	SAIL TRAINING ORGANISATION	1
	PRINCES TRUST VOLUNTEERS	1
	HAWK ASSOCIATES	1
	HAFFOTTY-WEN	1
	BRANAS-ISAF	1
	WALLACE HOUSE	1
	TAMESIDE OUTDOOR ADVENTURE (PROBATION RUN SERVICE)	1
	QUANTOCKS EXMOOR PROJECT (PROBATION RUN SERVICE)	1

**APPENIDIX 2.2: PROBATION SERVICES**

NUMBER THAT DID NOT REPLIED		37
NUMBER THAT DID REPLY		21
NUMBER THAT ARE NON USERS		7
IN HOUSE PROVISION		3
USES SERVICES	TOTAL	19
	SAIL TRAINING ORGANISATION	2
	FAIRBRIDGE	5
	THE VENTURE TRUST	5
	OUTWARD BOUND	2
	PELENNNA (PROBATION SERVICE RUN PROVISION)	2
	YOUTH AT RISK	1
	DUKE OF EDINBURGH AWARD	2



### APPENDIX 3: MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH ORGANISATION STUDIED.

ORGANISATION	CHARACTERISTICS
<b>Airborne Initiative</b>	<p>An alternative to jail for over 16s. Participants choose to go, but if they drop out, or fail to become adequately involved in the course they face this counts as a breach, and they face a jail sentence</p> <p>It is a 3 month residential program in the Scottish Borders which combines outdoor activities with community projects and training for work. It directly addresses offending behaviour.</p>
<b>Care Afloat</b>	<p>A compulsory residential care placement , for children (under 16s) who have disrupted other care placements.</p> <p>Youths spend the first few months of their placement on a tall ship or canal boat, and these trips are frequently repeated throughout their stay. Children tend to be isolated from each other. Directly address offending behaviours</p>
<b>Bryn Melyn Community</b>	<p>A compulsory residential care centre for children who have disrupted other care settings. A great emphasis is put on doing outdoor adventure activities as well as education. Bryn Melyn used to send children on three month foreign placement at the start of their placement to develop trust, but because of the 1990's media furore this has stopped. However people do much outdoor adventure locally, and within Britain, and foreign trips are made whenever local authorities are agreeable. Children tend to be isolated from each other Directly addresses offending behaviours. Not all residents are young offenders.</p>
<b>Corvedale Care</b>	<p>Another compulsory care centre for children that have disrupted care settings. This provide two services, either a 21 day crisis care service where children, whose care placements have broken down can be placed on outdoor adventure based project whilst alternative accommodation can be found for them. It also provide long term care, with a strong emphasis upon outdoor adventure. There are different level of interaction; in one house residents are isolated from each other, in others there is much more mixing. Directly addresses offending behaviours</p>

<b>Turnaround</b>	Again; a residential care setting for youths who's other placements have broken down, which puts great emphasis on outdoor adventure alongside education and leisure activities. Children can mix but are very few in residence at any time. Directly addresses offending behaviour
<b>Outdoor Resource centre</b>	An agency which is contacted by any organisation of group to provide a short term outdoor adventure experience. Contractors choose the length and nature of the programme. They can be a few hours a week for a long time, or a residential over one or two weeks. Can address offending behaviour, but the contacting agency has discretion over what the experience will focus upon( e.g. can be team work, drug use etc). Voluntary.
<b>Renaissance Maritime Trust</b>	This is a well planned project which had been unable to begin due to lack of finances. It is a potential outdoor adventure project rather than one already operating. It aims to recruit youths voluntary to man a tall ship providing adventure experience, but which will also take aid to places in need, thus serving humanitarian aims too. It aims to lead to the personal development of youths, including addressing their offending behaviour
<b>Venture Scotland</b>	A voluntary project where youths can attend weekend bothys, and week long residencies in the Scottish highlands, and the Lake District, though there is also more local follow up work around Edinburgh (where this project is based) on a day by day approach. This aims to attract unemployed youths but does aim to address offending behaviours, alongside other forms of personal development. Clients are referred from social services, and other organisations.
<b>Venture Trust</b>	A three week long residential in Applecross in the highlands of Scotland, working with young offenders. Social workers refer youths, from all other Britain and youths know that though it is an outdoor adventure programme, it is also about changing offending behaviour.

<b>Fairbridge</b>	<p>A voluntary organisation which aim to provide outdoor adventure and other activities to unemployed youths, including young offenders. The programmes begins with a one week residential - the 'basic bothy' and youths have opportunities to partake in more residential outdoor adventure trips and other daily activities. Fairbridge have 'drop in centres' where youth can go as often as they feel like, but it is not residential. Youths chose what they would like to develop, but working on offending behaviour is a stated aim of the organisation.</p>
<b>West Coast Adventure</b>	<p>Groups of youths attend a week long survival course on Scarpa, where they do outdoor adventure (e.g. canoeing, climbing) but also learn survival skills. This is voluntary. It does not only work with young offenders ( e.g. school groups can go), but many social work groups working with young offenders use this provision.</p>
<b>Sail Training</b>	<p>A voluntary tall ship voyage, usually about two weeks long. Sail Training invites social workers to recommend young offenders who they feel would benefit from this to go on the project. They go on the same trips as non-offenders, and though their aim isn't explicitly about addressing criminal behaviours it aims to contribute to the personal development of youths, which is indirectly felt to reduce criminality</p>
<b>Youth at Risk</b>	<p>A year long programme which incites youths to address problematic behaviours including offending. This begins with an intensive week long outdoor adventure based experience, but outdoor adventure is used less the rest of the year. Young offenders are recommend to go on this programme by social workers but it is voluntary.</p>
<b>Scottish Centres</b>	<p>Provides crisis care, or voluntary residential care for young offenders. These programmes are short residential (length varies with need) in which the youth does much outdoor adventure. Scottish centres also provides outdoor adventure for school and youth groups, though young offenders tend to be kept separate from these.</p>

**APPENDIX 4: NEWSPAPER ARTICLES STUDIED**

NEWSPAPERS ANALYSED	TOTAL NO. OF ARTICLES	ATTITUDE TOWARDS OUTDOOR ADVENTURE (NO'S OF ARTICLES)		
		SUPPORTIVE	NEUTRAL	ANTAGONISTIC
THE TIMES	33	1	-	32
THE SUNDAY TIMES	4	1	1	2
THE GUARDIAN	19	10	4	5
THE OBSERVER	5	3	1	1
THE INDEPENDENT	1	-	-	1
THE SCOTSMAN	10	8	-	2
SCOTLAND ON SUNDAY	1	-	1	-
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH	27	4	-	23
THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH	5	3	-	2
THE DAILY MAIL	36	1	-	35
THE MAIL ON SUNDAY	6	2	-	4
THE DAILY MIRROR	23	-	-	23
THE SUN	21	-	-	21
TOTALS	191	33	7	151

## **APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW THEMES**

### **5.1 Themes Within Interviews With Outdoor Adventure Providers**

Themes addressed in interview revolved around what outdoor adventure providers aimed to do in their programmes, how they felt it worked, the role of outdoor adventure, and whether rehabilitate perceptions of outdoor adventure as 'leisure' has affected their provision. Because of the variation with different organisations ( appendix 3), question varied slightly between different organisations. However the general themes are shown below.

#### **1. Outdoor Adventure And Its Perceived Role**

a) Description of provision.

Providers were asked to describe the nature of their provision to provide background context to other information gained, and to 'warm-up' the interviewee with an easy question.

b) Aims in using outdoor adventure?

this aims to reveals the perceived role and value of outdoor adventure.

c) What do you perceive its role its role to be (either existing or ideal) in the criminal justice system?

d) Do you see any differences in outdoor adventure's use as leisure and its use as a rehabilitative too for young offenders? If so what?

e) Do you/how do you think people change throughout your programme?

f) How do you think outdoor adventure achieves these things?- (e.g. the effects of activities done, the influence of the physical environment, the social environment or all of these)

#### **2. Others' Perceptions Of Outdoor Adventure**

These questions aimed to elicit information how people outside of the outdoor adventure organisation were perceived to think about outdoor adventure.

a)Who recommends clients to you,

b)How many get referred

c) Do you get any support from central , or local government? (financial or otherwise)

d)Are their any other sources of support you get

e) What is public perception toward you (for example in the community)

f) How do clients react to programmes

### **3. The Effect Of The Negative Media Publicity**

To investigate whether outdoor adventure providers were effected by the negative publicity the following questions were asked

- a) Were you affected by the outcry over the misuse of outdoor adventure as a leisure activity which rewarded young offenders?
- b) What was your view about this press and political representation

### **4. Long Term Effects**

To elicit how outdoor adventure may be perceived to have a permanent effect over people's lives

- a) Do you maintain contact after the programmes end?
- b) Do you do any follow up work to measure its effectiveness, or changes in clients that could be produced from outdoor adventure programmes.
- c) Do you hope that people will carry on involvement in outdoor adventure once this program is completed? If so why?

### **5. Causes Of Offending**

To understand how outdoor adventure effected offending behaviour, it was thought important to know why social workers thought youths became involved in crime. This would contextualise the use of outdoor adventure and may reveal why this was thought to help reduce such behaviours. Interviewees were therefore asked for their beliefs about causes of offending.



## **APPENDIX 5.2 THEMES WITHIN INTERVIEWS WITH SOCIAL WORKERS**

Themes addressed in interviews varied with whether the social worker /practice team manger used outdoor adventure or not. For those that did use outdoor adventure the interview revolved around four main themes listed below.

### **1. The Choice To Use Outdoor Adventure**

This question was an attempt to find more factual information about how the decision to use outdoor adventure programme were decided, the extent of its use, what organisation were uses, why, when outdoor adventure was considered appropriate. Questions were organised around the themes below

- a).Which organisations are used ?
- b).Why those in particular
- c).When is it felt appropriate / inappropriate to use outdoor adventure?
- d).How autonomous is the decision to use outdoor adventure?
- e).How many a year would be referred to this compared with other sentences ?

### **2. Mechanisms And Effects Of Outdoor Adventure**

These question attempted to elicit interviewees perception about the role, and value of outdoor adventure, what did it do and how did it did it. The revolved around the following themes

- a).In what context ( i.e. is it used to rehabilitate young offender, for they're personal development etc)<sup>1</sup>
- b)What aims do people have in using outdoor adventure
- c).How do you think those aims are met by outdoor adventure?
- d).Is it used on its own or in conjunction with other measures? Why?  
How does it compare with other measures, sentences
- e).What changes do you see in youths that participate in outdoor adventure.
- f).Do interviewees have any reservations about its use

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<sup>1</sup> These suggestion here (and all others within brackets) are to make the context of themes clear to the reader. They were not used in interviews as this would result in leading questions, that is introducing ideas of how outdoor adventure would be used and with what effects, which the interviewee may not have otherwise considered important.

### **3. Reception Of Outdoor Adventure**

To understand how social worker choices are influenced by other peoples perception of outdoor adventure (either directly-though having recommendation refused, or indirectly through realising ho perceptions of perceptions influenced over whether recommendation re made at all), interviews were asked;

What is its reception by children's panel, courts and youths, to the suggestion of its use

### **4. Causes Of Offending**

To understand how outdoor adventure effected offending behaviour, it was thought important to know why social workers thought youths became involved in crime, This would contextualise the use of outdoor adventure and may reveal why this was thought to help reduce such behaviours. Interviewees were therefore asked for their beliefs about causes of offending.

If social workers/team practice mangers did not recommend outdoor adventure questions were asked about why it wasn't used (to gain information of its perceived role, effects and value) for example;

a) Why isn't outdoor adventure used ? (Cost, effectiveness, public perception, reception by magistrates/ children's panel?, availability reaction of youths)

b).How does it compare with other measures - what do they provide that it lacks?

c).Are there any circumstances in which you would be tempted to use it?

They were also asked about cause of offending for the same reasons as other social workers.

## APPENDIX 6: CODES

### Appendix 6.1 HyperRESEARCH Codes Used For Analysis Of Outdoor Adventure Provider Interview Transcripts

CODE	DEFINITION
ANTI -INSTITUTION	Comments that show a dislike of or a belief in the ineffective nature of formal institutions
ANTIPATHY TO PRISONS	Comments which show a dislike of, or a belief in the ineffective nature of prisons.
CAUSES OF OFFENDING – INDIVIDUAL	Comments which show how and why people believe the young offenders are responsible for their own criminal behaviour.
CAUSES OF OFFENDING- ENVIRONMENTAL	Causes of criminality that rest in the social, physical and cultural environment in which young offenders live.
CAUSES OF OFFENDING- AGENCY	How individuals can lead to young offenders commit crimes.
DIFFERENCE	Comments which reflect on, and suggest the values of the ways outdoor adventure experience is very different (in many different ways e.g. environment; social etc) to the everyday experiences of young offenders.
EFFECTIVENESS	Claims of how effective programs can be .
ENJOYMENT	Statements which express that the experience is enjoyable, and also those which express the importance of enjoyment for the projects- why is enjoyment important?
NON ENJOYABLE	The opposite to the above. Statements which claim that the programmes are not and do not need to be enjoyable
FAILED BY SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS	Beliefs that the need of young people have not been met by the organisations established by the state to help and protect them (e.g. education/ the care system).
HARD WORK- PHYSICALLY	Comments which show that the programmes are thought to be physically challenging and hard work for the clients.
HARD WORK - MENTALLY	Courses are recognise to challenge the emotional and mental lives of clients
IMPORTANCE OF WORK	Discourses about the importance of 'work' (paid or voluntary) activities; is it important and why is it important?
INDIVIDUALITY	References to the individual nature of each client, their involvement (and reasons for) involvement in crime and their treatment in the programmes
IMPORTANCE OF CHOICE	Statements which express that choice is an important part of the programme (choice to participate in programmes per se, and then choice over what activities to do within programmes) and also those which explain why this is believed to be important.
LAST RESORT	Ideas that outdoor adventure is the last chance young offenders have to address their criminal behaviour. It is only done after all other possibilities have been tried and failed.

LEISURE	Statements which show that outdoor adventure is viewed by providers/ participants as a leisure activity.
NON LEISURE	The opposite to the above. Statements which show that these programmes are not viewed as a leisure activity
LIMITATIONS OF PROGRAMMES	Problems of the programmes, or attitudes and activities of clients that programmes cannot reach.
LONG TERM EFFECT	Beliefs that the consequences of these programmes last for many years.
ECONOMIC JUSTIFICATION	Statements which argue for the programmes based on the savings they make to 'the tax payer'.
MECHANISM OF OUTDOOR ADVENTURE	Ideas about how outdoor adventure 'works'.
SPIRITUALITY	Statements about the spiritual nature of the experience and its importance for the programme.
NEGATIVE CITIES	Comments about the negative value of cities –the problems they create. There is no corresponding code for the benefits of cities as these discourse were noticeably absent.
POSITIVE RURALITY	Comments about the value and positive influence of being in the countryside , the 'Good Things' of rural life. There was no corresponding code for the 'bad things' of rural life.
NOT UNIQUE	Course do not provide a unique service but is simply one of many options that can achieve these ends.
OUTCOMES	How does the programme change its participants (e.g. self confidence, self esteem, prevents crime). SUBDIVIDED INTO <i>diversion</i> <i>personal development</i> <i>substitution of highs</i> <i>broadening horizons</i> <i>develop practical skills</i> <i>holistic approach</i> ( does not focus on one aspect of individuals behaviour but the whole individual)
POSITIVE ATTRIBUTES OF YOUTHS	In what ways of young offenders on programme 'good'. What values, and qualities do they have.
PROBLEMS OF YOUTHS	What are some of the problems of youths on these programmes.
YOUTH RESPONSES TO COURSES	DIVIDED INTO: <i>attitude to the courses</i> <i>participation rates</i> <i>completion rates</i> <i>perception of the course</i> ( as ‘ Street Cred’). <i>completion produces pride</i> (e.g. certificates placed on walls).
PROFESSIONALISM	Statements which empathise how professional the provision is (People are well trained; programme well developed etc).
PUBLIC PERCEPTION	What the outdoor providers think the public think about their service.
RECOGNISED NORMAL/DEVIANT	Comments that reveal providers think young offenders are 'different' from the rest of society. Utilisation of the

DICHOTOMY	Normal/deviant dichotomy in which the young offender are constructed as the deviant 'other'.
RESEARCH	Citations of work that supports programmes activities and claims. Also work cited done by programme workers as well as that circulated in the outdoor adventure literature.
RESPONSIBILITY/ EMPOWERMENT	Claims that show how the youths learn to take responsibility for themselves and their actions and how this is associated with an increase of their abilities ; it is empowering.
REJECTION OF DICHOTOMY	Comments that reveal that workers do not utilise the normal/deviant dichotomy.
RESTRICTED LIBERTY	Claims which show how the programmes impose restrictions of the choices and activities of the participants.
SOCIAL INCLUSION	Courses create links with wider community giving youths better relationships with their wider community. They also provide opportunities which most people have the chances to participate in.
SUPERVISION	Explanations of the amount and quality of supervision ( client/staff ratios; amount of free time etc)
SUPPORT	Measures and comments on support for programmes, either from the public, the government, private industry etc).
TIMETABLES	Indications of the control of time and activities in these programmes.
TRUST DEPENDENCY	Comments on the relationship between the participants and staff on these programmes, that reveal how the basis of these relationship is the development of trust through being in a relation of dependency i.e. being belayed by a professional when climbing.

## APPENDIX 6.2: CODES USED IN THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL WORK INTERVIEWS

CODE	DEFINITION
NON DISCIPLINARY	Comments which show outdoor activity providers are not seen by social workers and their clients as fulfilling a disciplinary role. In fact they may be directly contrasted against the disciplinary and authority role of social workers
DISCIPLINARY	Comments which suggest that outdoor activities are associated with disciplinary functions and other disciplinary institutions, for example associations with the Military.
CO-OPERATION	Comments which show how outdoor adventure works alongside and with social workers assisting them.
COMPLIMENTARY ROLE	Outdoor adventure is not a stand alone measure. It can only help in conjunction with social work.
ANTIPATHY TO PRISONS	Comments which show a dislike of, or a belief in the ineffective nature of prisons.
CAUSES OF OFFENDING – INDIVIDUAL	Comments which show how and why people believe the young offenders are responsible for their own criminal behaviour.
CAUSES OF OFFENDING- ENVIRONMENTAL	Causes of criminality that rest in the social, physical and cultural environment in which young offenders live.
CAUSES OF OFFENDING- AGENCY	How individuals can lead to young offenders commit crimes.
CONVENIENCE	Courses are chosen because they are known about and available. They are not actively ‘sought after’ by the social services.
DIFFERENCE	Comments which reflect on, and suggest the values of the ways outdoor adventure experience is very different (in many different ways e.g. environment; social etc) to the everyday experiences of young offenders.
PROBLEMATIC DIFFERENCE	Comments which recognises , but identify as problematic this separation of the outdoor experience from the normal life’s and experiences of clients
EFFECTIVENESS	Claims of how effective programs can be .
ENJOYMENT	Statements which express that the experience is enjoyable, and also those which express the importance of enjoyment for the projects- why is enjoyment important?
EXTENT OF USE	How often are they referred?
NON ENJOYABLE	The opposite to the above. Statements which claim that the programmes are not and do not need to be enjoyable
FAILED BY SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS	Beliefs that the need of young people have not been met by the organisations established by the state to help and protect them (e.g. education/ the care system).
HARD WORK- PHYSICALLY	Comments which show that the programmes are thought to be physically challenging and hard work for the clients.



HARD WORK - MENTALLY	Courses are recognise to challenge the emotional and mental lives of clients
NOT HARD WORK	Comments which suggest the experiences are not challenging mentally of physically.
IMPORTANCE OF WORK	Discourses about the importance of 'work' (paid or voluntary) activities; is it important and why is it important?
INDIVIDUALITY	References to the individual nature of each client, their involvement (and reasons for) involvement in crime and their treatment in the programmes
IMPORTANCE OF CHOICE	Statements which express that choice is an important part of the programme (choice to participate in programmes per se, and then choice over what activities to do within programmes) and also those which explain why this is believed to be important.
LAST RESORT	Ideas that outdoor adventure is the last chance young offenders have to address their criminal behaviour. It is only done after all other possibilities have been tried and failed.
LEISURE	Statements which show that outdoor adventure is viewed by providers/ participants as a leisure activity.
NON LEISURE	The opposite to the above. Statements which show that these programmes are not viewed as a leisure activity
LIMITATIONS IN ABILITY TO PREVENT OFFENDING	How programs cannot or do nor effect the offending behaviour of young offenders
OTHER LIMITATIONS OF PROGRAMMES	Problems of the programmes, or attitudes and activities of young offenders (or types of young offenders) that these programs cannot reach.
NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE PROGRAMMES	Bad outcomes which are caused by the outdoor activity programs and which can worsen the situation for, or behaviour of clients.
LONG TERM EFFECT	Beliefs that the consequences of these programmes last for many years.
ECONOMIC JUSTIFICATION	Statements which argue for the programmes based on the savings they make to 'the tax payer'.
MECHANISM OF OUTDOOR ADVENTURE	Ideas about how outdoor adventure 'works'.
SPIRITUALITY	Statements about the spiritual nature of the experience and its importance for the programme.
NEGATIVE CITIES	Comments about the negative value of cities –the problems they create. There is no corresponding code for the benefits of cities as these discourse were noticeably absent.
POSITIVE RURALITY	Comments about the value and positive influence of being in the countryside , the 'Good Things' of rural life. There was no corresponding code for the 'bad things' of rural life.
NOT UNIQUE	Course do not provide a unique service but is simply one of many options that can achieve these ends.
OUTCOMES	How does the programme change its participants (e.g. self confidence, self esteem, prevents crime). SUBDIVIDED INTO <i>diversion</i>

	<p><i>personal development</i>  <i>substitution of highs</i>  <i>broadening horizons</i>  <i>develop practical skills</i>  <i>holistic approach</i> does not focus on one aspect of individuals behaviour but the whole individual.</p>
POSITIVE ATTRIBUTES OF YOUTHS	In what ways of young offenders on programme 'good'. What values, and qualities do they have.
PROBLEMS OF YOUTHS	What are some of the problems of youths on these programmes.
YOUTH RESPONSES TO COURSES	<p>DIVIDED INTO:</p> <p><i>attitude to the courses</i>  <i>participation rates</i>  <i>completion rates</i>  <i>perception of the course</i>( as ' Street Cred').  <i>completion produces pride</i> (e.g. certificates placed on walls).</p>
PROFESSIONALISM	Statements which empathise how professional the provision is (People are well trained; programme well developed etc).
PUBLIC PERCEPTION	What the outdoor providers think the public think about their service.
RECOGNISED NORMAL/DEVIANT DICHOTOMY	Comments that reveal providers think young offenders are 'different' from the rest of society. Utilisation of the Normal/deviant dichotomy in which the young offender are constructed as the deviant 'other'.
RESEARCH	Citations of work that supports programmes activities and claims. Also work cited done by programme workers as well as that circulated in the outdoor adventure literature.
RESPONSIBILITY/ EMPOWERMENT	Claims that show how the youths learn to take responsibility for themselves and their actions and how this is associated with an increase of their abilities ; it is empowering.
REJECTION OF DICHOTOMY	Comments that reveal that workers do not utilise the normal/deviant dichotomy.
RESTRICTED LIBERTY	Claims which show how the programmes impose restrictions of the choices and activities of the participants.
SOCIAL INCLUSION	Courses create links with wider community giving youths better relationships with their wider community. They also provide opportunities which most people have the chances to participate in.
SUPPORT	Measures and comments on support for programmes, either from the public, the government, private industry etc).
TIMETABLES	Indications of the control of time and activities in these programmes.
TRUST DEPENDENCY	Comments on the relationship between the participants and staff on these programmes, that reveal how the basis of these relationship is the development of trust through being in a relation of dependency i.e. being belayed by a professional when climbing.

### APPENDIX 6.3: BROCHURE CODES (TEXTUAL)

CODE	DEFINITION
ENJOYMENT	Descriptors of outdoor adventures enjoyability
FREE-TIME	The positioning of outdoor adventure in peoples free time e.g. holidays
FREEDOM	Association of outdoor adventure with various forms of freedom including sub themes: Freedom from authority Freedom to choice Freedom 'to be'- metaphysical conception of freedom
LEISURE	Explicit recognition of outdoor adventure's leisure status
EFFECTIVENESS AS LEISURE	Descriptors of how outdoor adventure is effective - images of its utopian nature
EFFECTIVENESS AS A REHABILITATION TOOL	Claims that outdoor adventure works
YOUNG OFFENDER AS VICTIMS	Discourse which situate young offenders as victims, as well / instead of victimisers
CONSTRAINT	Association of outdoor adventure with restriction of liberty (in terms of choice, movement etc)
RESPONSIBILITY	Description which show how outdoor adventure programmes require and encourage responsibility
CHALLENGE	Descriptions of outdoor adventure as hard work and effort.

## APPENDIX 6.4: NEWSPAPER CODES

Newspapers include all the brochure themes recognised above (Appendix 3c), but also some additional themes, shown in the table below. These additional codes tend to be critical, assessing the morality and effectiveness of the descriptive codes recognised in the brochure analysis

CODE	DEFINITION
ILL-GAINED REWARD	Descriptors of outdoor adventure status as reward, which problematise its use
DESERVED REWARD	Outdoor adventure described as a reward but one that is earned. Falls into two main (man opposing) categories. Young offenders that work hard and therefore deserve it, or non-offender, generally people in need that deserve a reward but are unable to experience it
EFFECTIVENESS AS LEISURE	Descriptors of how outdoor adventure is effective - images of its utopian nature
AN EXPENSIVE WASTE OF MONEY	Outdoor adventure is expensive /and or does not provide value for money
VALUE FOR MONEY	Claims that outdoor adventure is cost-effective
EFFECTIVENESS AS REHABILITATION	Claims that outdoor adventure works
IN-EFFECTIVENESS AS REHABILITATION	Descriptors of outdoor adventure's ineffectiveness
COMMON-SENSE	Claims that outdoor adventure is 'naturally' leisure
LUNACY	Rhetoric referring to the madness of people who support outdoor adventure
VILIFICATION OF PROVIDERS	Descriptors of those who provide outdoor adventure as being wrong
IMMORALITY OF OUTDOOR ADVENTURE	Claims that it rewards the undeserving and/or penalised the deserving.
VILIFICATION OF YOUNG OFFENDERS	How young offenders are othered and made to look like 'devils'. Including sub-themes Emphasis on the nasty nature of their crimes, The multitude of their crimes, Unwillingness to change
PUNISHMENT	Claims that young offender should be punished for their crimes, and the ways in which it is suggested this should be done (e.g. jail, 'birching' etc)

## APPENDIX 6.5: CODES USED IN THE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF BROCHURES

A total of 27 codes were used for this analysis. They were derived by examination of photographs and recognition of differences between photographs in different brochures, and commonalities between photographs in pictures amongst brochures of the same type ( educational/ fun based etc.) Not all these were actually used in the final study. Those which have been used are marked by a '\*'.

CODE	EXPLANATION	VARIABLES CODED
GENDER	Description of the gender of the subject of the photograph, or of the gender ratio in the case of mixed gender photographs	Male, female, equal mix of males & females, male dominated, female dominated
ETHNICITY	Description of the ethnicity of the subject(s) in the photograph	White, black, Asian, mixed ethnicity's
GROUP SIZE	How many people are in the photograph	the number of people were recorded accurately ( e.g. a picture of one person was given the code '1', two people '2', three people '3'...),until there were more than 20 in a group. all groups this size and over were given one code.
GENDER OF LEADERS	A description of the gender or gender ratio of the leaders shown in the photographs	Male, female, mixed, unclear (e.g. the leader has their back to the camera or is obscured by equipment, or distance from the camera)
GROUP COMPOSITION	Description of the relationships apparent between the subjects in the photograph. A person was identified as either a client or a leader by their age; their uniform ( leaders often wore these), or their role in the image as leading the activity. This however become a more difficult distinction to make as the client group got older, especially when they were wearing activity gear such as waterproofs.	a single person, peer group, a leader and a client leader and peer group, a leader alone, a group of leaders, unclear
FACIAL EXPRESSIONS	A description of the way the subjects of the photograph	Happy, concentrating, unhappy, neutral, unclear

	appeared to be feeling	
AGE OF CLIENT	A description of how old the clients appeared to be	children (< 12), young teenagers (13-14), old teenagers (15-19), young adults (20-30), middle aged (30-60) older adults (60+), mixed group, unclear
PICTURE SIZE	A description of the size of the photographic image	postage stamp, 1/16 <sup>th</sup> of a page, 1/8 <sup>th</sup> of a page, 1/4 of a page, 1/2 of a page, 3/4 of a page, 7/8 <sup>th</sup> of a page full page
COLOUR	A description of the colour format of the photograph.	multi colour, black & white, colour highlights and tints
PICTURE COMPOSITION	Was the photograph a single picture or a montage?	single picture, montage
NUMBER OF PICTURES PER PAGE	A description of the number of photographic pictures on each page. This was an average. The total numbers in each brochure was counted and then divided by the number of pages in the brochure	the number of pictures was coded corresponding the actual numbers ( e.g. one picture coded '1'; two pictures per page coded '2'.
FOCUS OF THE PICTURE	A description of what the photographs main subject was perceived to be. There were many variations of these. When it was unclear whether the person in the picture was a leader or a client they were coded as 'people'.	the client, scenery, activity equipment, the centre building, transport, centre staff, client in the scenery client & staff members, client doing an activity client & staff doing an activity, client & staff & the centre building, client & staff & scenery, client & scene & activity, client & staff & scene activity, building and scenery, people & scenery, people & activity people & scene & activity
LOCATION	Was the picture taken in an indoor or outdoor setting?	Indoor, outdoor
MEASURE OF WILDERNESS	When the photograph was taken outside, a subjective measure of how 'wilderness like' the environment pictures was has been made.	wilderness like, (no evidence of civilisation) some evidence of mans influence but mainly natural setting ( e.g.. in an area of cultivated fields, or a house present), a scene which shows much evidence of human influence,( many houses; roads etc), unclear
THE OUTDOOR ENVIRONMENT	What was being shown in the outdoor scene?	Unclear, a picture all of water( therefore unclear if it is



		<p>sea or river), beach, mountains, forest, fields, rock faces</p> <p>Rivers, the sea, man made environment (e.g. a golf course), general natural inland scenery, general natural coastal scenery, centre building, historic building amusement parks, exhibition centres/museums views of towns/urban centres, stables, playgrounds parks/gardens, games fields</p>
INDOOR ENVIRONMENTS	A description of the settings of indoor photographs	Unclear, classroom/ laboratory, activity rooms, swimming pools, dinning rooms, bedrooms, nightlife ( e.g. discos and bars), social areas, museums exhibitions equipment rooms
WEATHER	A description of what the weather was like in the photographs	good (sunny with blue skies), cloudy, rainy, unclear
SEASON	A description of what time of year it appeared to be.	Spring, summer, autumn, winter, unclear
ACTIVITY	What type of activity did the photograph appear to be representing. (for details of what each of these categories include see below)	Unclear, adventure, educational, work skills, entertainment, none, functional, sport, portrait picture
SUBJECT INVOLVEMENT	A description of the apparent level of involvement of the subject of the photograph in the activity.	Active, passive, unclear
EQUIPMENT LEVELS	A description of how much equipment was shown to be used in activities in the photographs	no equipment, limited equipment ( e.g. football), specialised equipment ( e.g. climbing, canoeing).
ADVENTURE ACTIVITY	A description of the different types of activity that has classed as 'adventurous' by myself in this analysis.	rock climbing, kayak, windsurfing, ropes courses, fencing, motor activities, abseiling, horse riding,

		surfing, canoeing, sailing, camping, archery, scuba, diving, hiking, unclear
EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY	A description of the different activities that have been classed as educational	Fieldwork, classroom, crafts, computing, educational visits, animals, bicycle training, cooking
ENTERTAINMENT ACTIVITIES	A description of those activities that have been classed as entertainment	fairground rides, discos, pubs, socialising, playgrounds beach play, consumption of luxury items (e.g. candy floss)
SPORTS ACTIVITIES	A description of those activities that have been classed as sports. These are the more usual activities which can not really be thought of as adventurous because done by lots of people and on a fairly regular basis.	Volleyball, fishing, tennis, swimming
FUNCTIONAL ACTIVITIES	A description of those activities classed as functional.	eating/drinking, sleeping
WORK SKILLS	A description of those activities that have been classed as work training	building and maintenance

## APPENDIX 7: CONTENT ANALYSIS RESULTS OF BROCHURE IMAGERY

The brochures subjected to analysis (Chapter 4) had their photographic images examined, through content analysis to identify what the pictures illustrated. In the main text the results of this analysis have been interpreted to identify possible meanings which these images contributed to, or represented in. Below are the most relevant quantitative results of the analysis, as opposed to the qualitative interpretation of these results given in chapter 5. (More codes were used but were not relevant in the analysis and so have not been listed here)

FEATURE ASSESSED	LEISURE BROCHURES	REHABILITATIVE BROCHURES
FACIAL EXPRESSIONS OF PARTICIPANTS :	SMILING CONCENTRATING UNHAPPY UNCLEAR	45.7% 41.1% 11.3% 4.5%
COLOUR OF PHOTOGRAPHS :	COLOUR BLACK & WHITE	35.3% 64.3%
NUMBER OF PHOTOGRAPHS:	NO. BROCHURES WITH NO PHOTOS AVERAGE NO. PER PAGE	5 0.98
SIZE OF PHOTOGRAPHS	POSTAGE STAMP 1/16 <sup>TH</sup> PAGE 1/8 <sup>TH</sup> PAGE 1/4 <sup>TH</sup> PAGE 3/8 <sup>TH</sup> PAGE 1/2 PAGE 5/8 <sup>TH</sup> PAGE 3/4 PAGE 7/8 <sup>TH</sup> PAGE FULL PAGE	29% 48% <sup>1</sup> 6.5% 5.9% 2.6% 1.9% .65% .65% - 4.6%
WEATHER IN PHOTOGRAPHS	UNCLEAR SUNNY CLOUDY RAINY	56.2% 25.8% 11.2% 7.8%

<sup>1</sup> This result was probably screwed by one brochure, which unlike any others in the category, used many small illustrations (Outdoor Resource Centre). This has made other photographs percentages smaller than they would have been without this brochure.